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Jesus in Berkeley, v. 2



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CHAPTER V

MAKING CHRIST AN ISSUE

A social movement may be defined as a "collective ready for action by which some kind of change is to be achieved, some innovation to be made, or some previous condition to be restored," and as a "collective enterprise to establish a new order of life."¹ It is clear that a movement must develop goals, and tactics appropriate to the goals. Martin Luther deemed the posting of ninety-five theses on the church door at Wittenberg an appropriate tactic for furthering his goals. A steady course of pamphleteering furthered the early Protestant Reformation. Many Christian reform movements of the Middle Ages were eventually institutionalized as orders, but they had had a variety of goals, often social, and a variety of tactics to achieve them. Institutionalization was only the crown of success (or failure) to effective tactics and resonant goals. As Billy Graham tries to call the United States and the world to repentance, crusades and extensive use of the media are his chief tactics.

Whether a movement succeeds and flourishes will relate to its goals and whether those goals resonate with their times. William McLoughlin has written that every revival with a major impact succeeded because of leaders who could "embody in their colorful and eloquent sermons neither more nor less than the spirit of their times."² The future of a movement is also related to its tactics. Are they

appropriate to the goals? Will they win a hearing? Do they offend people? Do they generate repression or enthusiasm? Are there charismatic or at least energetic and talented people to make the most of the tactics? Do the tactics change as the scene changes? Are they too quickly institutionalized into irrelevance? Do the times pass the movement by?

Christian groups are accustomed to calling their tactics ministries. Such a term presumably calls attention to God as the author and director. It may also be misleading. Professional church planners must continually advise churches to see their ministry and mission in terms of tactics and goals, forcing the questions of relevance and appropriateness which the more sacred word ministries allows to go unasked.

In this chapter we look at several important ministries which have grown out of CWLF's presence in Berkeley since 1969. In addition to the questions already posed in the second paragraph of this chapter another cluster of questions is also significant: Is there any agreed-upon goal to which all these ministries (tactics) contribute? How broadly would such a goal have to be stated? Is there a coalition of goals, as there is a coalition of ministries? Is there any obvious connection between the CWLF ministries? Are they at cross purposes with one another? Is CWLF attracting people who can creatively staff present ministries and develop newer and more appropriate ones? Are people in and around CWLF in agreement as to what CWLF should be doing in Berkeley and how it should be doing it?

Right On

The single ministry to which CWLF has dedicated major resources, energy, and talent is its newspaper. Right On was the first Christian underground newspaper to appear in the Jesus movement and its circulation has brought no little fame and reputation to CWLF among Jesus People and evangelicals throughout the country. It is the flagship in CWLF's armada and is identified with it in a way that no other ministry is.

We have already seen that people editing Right On, or significantly affecting its direction, are likely to be in our group three (in Chapter II), or at least moving in that direction. They are likely to be self-actualizing, to have strong egos, to have a variety of commitments, and to be without total commitment to the narrow CWLF community. In the next chapter we shall also see that they are likely to be culture-affirming and moving in the direction of developing a positive worldview. At the end of this discussion of Right On we may be in a position to ask whether such people are moving in the same direction that CWLF is moving, whether they have diverted CWLF's original direction, whether they have introduced the concept of a coalition of diverse goals and tactics in order to make room for the mission they saw for themselves, whether Right On and CWLF are simply moving with the times.

Within days of the arrival of the first missionaries in April 1969 they began frankly copying the tactics of political radicals. To what end? They watched the radicals' success in raising issues and making issues. They were determined to make Christ an issue. They leafleted

crowds, they stapled up posters, they distributed handbills on campus, they elbowed their way into meetings, they dared to stand up and be intrusive. Within three months they issued the first underground paper of the Jesus movement. The July 1969 issue's lead article, "Barb Bared," reported that Max Scheer's employees on the Berkeley Barb were striking him over the issue of low wages and excessive profits for Scheer. Right On suggested that Scheer's politics apparently did not begin at home. That article was to set a style that Right On followed for the next two years at least. It exploited the difficulties that radicals were often having, pointed at the discrepancy between their speeches and their actions, and often suggested that an inner new man created by the Father through the Son was the only answer. The issue carried three parables and the Biblical story of Zacheus climbing into a tree to catch sight of Jesus updated to Telegraph Avenue. A direct evangelistic message, "Let's Get One Thing Straight," would appear in many future issues as well. It described Christianity not as churches or organizations or institutions but as the kind of people and the quality of life exhibited by the first-century "love revolutionaries." It was an encounter from without with a new quality of life, an experience of Jesus Christ and his power come to live in one's life, getting unhung from one's past. There was a simple means of initiation into that kind of life. You just said, "God, if you're real, if you're there, make yourself real to me." The only assumption necessary was that God would be fair enough to reward those who genuinely wanted to experience him. The greater portion of the issue was given to the Berkeley Liberation Program (printed at the end

of Chapter I), which was nearly a point-by-point rebuttal or alternative to a radical program which had just hit the streets. There was one photograph and one piece of graphics, a view of three Berkeley people with a "barb" hooked through them. That first issue was nearly single-handedly written and produced by Jack Sparks or at most by Jack and one or two brothers. Eventually some of the new converts who were coming into CWLF began to help with the paper.

The second issue, which like the first carried no date, no publisher, no information about who was producing it, suggested that a lot of people, presumably the "common people" of the streets and the campus, were hated by the police and used and ignored by the radical elites. There was also an exposure of fascism among the Black Panthers and the uselessness and self-destructiveness of their violence trip. A long interview with Mark Hatfield presumably suggested what Right On thought Christians in politics should be like. The evangelistic message appeared again, this time with a box number to which interested people could write. An article on life-style suggested voting with your money by choosing products carefully, not getting hung up on materialism and not selling yourself out to advertising. This was the beginning of many articles, leaflets, and booklets which would follow in the next two years in which CWLF tried to give simple help and advice, unrelated in any overt way to any evangelistic message, to the street people. The "People's Medical Handbook," praised in the Last Whole Earth Catalog, is the most successful example of this. Although CWLF is very proud of this booklet, there is little effort to distribute it after 1972. The

last page of Right On carried a full-page graphic: a picture of Jesus with a large "Wanted" sign and a bill of particulars. This graphic, drawn by a new Jesus Freak in CWLF, was to go around the world and be printed in every conceivable form. CWLF received no compensation for this, since the paper was not and is not copyrighted, nor is CWLF ever mentioned in connection with this famous poster. Actually, this poster seems to be a part of the cultural heritage and has appeared at various times in recent history to legitimate radical movements.

The third issue showed the progression from revolutionary idealism to establishment authoritarianism via seven cleverly drawn cartoons. The Panthers are again attacked via a cartoon with the caption: "Our sympathy goes to Chairman Bobby . . . how can he enjoy his Eldorado in jail?" This is another of the attacks on radicals so characteristic of the early years of Right On. What was the point? To prepare for a message about a "third way," neither establishment nor radical. That was the stated intention. What latent functions such attacks served one can only guess. Certainly two of the three men who first came to Berkeley to found CWLF were conservative-to-rightist and had often expressed their concern about the directions that radicals were taking with respect to the country and specifically the youth culture. A radical, while perhaps admitting the validity of some of these attacks, would probably consider them cheap shots and find it difficult to distinguish them from any of the clever things William Buckley or, on the immediate scene, the editor of the Berkeley Gazette might write. Whatever partial validity they might have had for the radicals, they

would have seemed obviously and definitely counterrevolutionary. Such attacks certainly also represented the real frustrations people in CWLF were beginning to feel as they attempted to make Christ an issue in the student and radical scene. There were shouting and shoving matches with SDS, and not a few occasions where the famous radical participatory democracy deliberately excluded any obviously Christian voice. If one were right of center to begin with, this seeming fascism on the part of radical leaders could cause tremendous frustration, anger, and retaliation in print. Nevertheless, CWLF never sought and never seems to have received any significant Right Wing money. It was not too long before some of the small support they were receiving was cut off because Jack "seemed to be cutting himself off from the good people of America."

That same issue, however, also carried a brief news item on a Soviet writer who had renounced Communism and a jibe at Women's Liberation entitled "Donna Quixote and the Impossible Dream." There was a contrast between God's revolution, which changes people inside, and the new Left which was characterized as not interested in fighting racism, poverty, or oppression but in using issues to build their movements. Whether it was clear to people who read these issues that CWLF rejected much of the Establishment with equal vigor or whether CWLF in fact did reject much of the Establishment with equal vigor are open questions. The answer to the former is probably no. Many today believe that CWLF never succeeded in any real dialogue with radicals and that such issues as these precluded any such dialogue. Yet because CWLF was on the

streets and peppering the campus, they gained a certain grudging respect from some radicals who may have admired their pesky give-and-take. The presence of CWLF on the streets and at countless meetings must balance any abstract conclusion about the message of Right On in that first year.

Subsequent issues introduced Onisi Mouse (presumably an esoteric take-off on the New Testament character Onesimus), a cartoon character who had wry comments on the Berkeley scene. The issue of sex and Women's Liberation received increasing treatment and with a much more positive attitude. Of course, the paper decried the "sexploitation" of North Beach and the Berkeley Barb as a chief enemy of Women's Liberation. A self-consciousness seemed to develop in which Right On identified with the simple, common people, whoever they were—while being attacked by Right and Left, and by the churches as well. The counterculture is definitely seen as "our" counterculture. How authentic that consciousness was many people wondered. Of course, some of the people in the counterculture who had joined CWLF were doing some of that writing. It is also probably true that Jack Sparks at least had become a countercultural person. That certainly seems true by 1973. It is not possible to say he is pretending or trying to be one of the kids or is an overage teenybopper, as Lowell Streiker suggested in his book on the Jesus movement.³ Such comments are not uncommon reflections of establishment incredulity at someone older than thirty being countercultural. They may suggest the writer's reopening of old conversations with self that had been considered answered or shelved as no longer useful.

The sixth issue was the first to carry an issue number and the seventh was the first to carry a date (November 1969) and an address, 2409 Channing Way. The eighth issue carried a volume and an issue number, was dated 15 December 69, and said "Published by the Christian World Liberation Front." These issues began to carry testimonies by new Jesus People, announcements of rock concerts of Jesus music and other events in the Jesus movement, and analyses of such "rival" movements as Meditation, Krishna, and the occult. The ninth issue, 15 January 70, had a message from the editors, who were identified as Coni, Lynda, and Jerry. About this time the graphics became increasingly psychedelic in style, and this continued for the next six months. There were invitations to subscribe for twelve issues (six months) for \$2.00, though the paper never succeeded in coming out twice a month. Under Jerry's influence there were more articles on sex, Women's Liberation, the occult, and mysticism.

There were continually parables which attempted to present the meaning of the Christian life within the contemporary youth culture, dissection of radical goals and strategies, the presentation of Christianity as another way. The twelfth and fourteenth issues carried ads for Jesus workshirts, sweatshirts, and buttons, a kind of ad which a 1973 letter to prospective advertisers specifically rejected. In the thirteenth issue, 10 April 70, Campus Crusade's famous four spiritual laws appeared in an altered, hip, countercultural version:

1. God loves you and has the heaviest life-style for you.
2. Every person has gone his own way and is separated from God,
so he cannot know and experience God's love and life-style.

3. Jesus Christ is God's bridge. He makes it possible for you to know God's love and have his life-style.
4. When you receive Jesus Christ as liberator and leader, you will know God's love and have his life-style.⁴

What is interesting here is the friendly imitation of Crusade. By 1973 one could often hear Crusade put down in CWLF circles and the four spiritual laws ridiculed, not for their content, but as a means of speaking to people about Christ and the Christian life. Already in 1970 CWLF was definitely developing a style quite unlike that of Campus Crusade and was receiving criticism for it. Yet here are the four spiritual laws. The change of the familiar Savior and Lord in the fourth law to "liberator" and "leader" became almost a CWLF trademark and appeared again and again in subsequent CWLF literature. In the sixteenth issue, June 1970, the spiritual laws were again paraphrased, much more elaborately, and there was an attempt at a Christian apologetic.

The major impression of that first year is of a paper which grew directly out of the streets and the campus. There appears some sympathy with the counterculture of the streets and some kind advice for it and continuous direct confrontation with the political radicals. By 1973 one might argue that the cultural radicals were a more serious rival to Christianity and posed a greater threat to any evangelical Christianity than did political radicals. It is probably not self-styled "culturistas" who were being befriended in 1960 and 1970, however, but simple and often grubby street people. The paper is at once boldly innovative—there was nothing like it in Christian circles, and the other Jesus papers which

almost immediately began to follow were really quite different and often geared more to Christian teeny-boppers—and quite amateurish. Few are more willing to admit the latter than Jack Sparks. He has talked innumerable times on the subject of Christian literature and calls attention to that first year as the time when a small group of people, stumbling and bumbling, began to create a concept of what Christian literature in a countercultural scene should accomplish and how.

The first year's issues continually present Christianity as something rarely tried and dare people to take God up on what he offers. The Christian revolution is contrasted with that which radicals promulgate and is seen as the only effective revolution because it changes people's hearts and lives and does not just tinker with structures. As the year went on, Christianity was presented not only as an alternative to radical politics but also to rival "religious" groups. This was the time, more than in 1973 and 1974, when the Berkeley area was a veritable marketplace of gods and CWLF began to see the necessity of a Christian apologetic which would present Christianity with increasing skill and dissect the opposition. Nevertheless, those early attempts at apologetic are a far cry from the directions the paper later took when evangelicals schooled in such niceties began to arrive. Whether this presentation of Christianity as a viable alternative was of any theological significance and whether it reflected any carefully thought-out position are questions we shall have to take up in the next chapter.

Every issue of Right On in the first year consisted of four pages, always the same size. The masthead continually changed, and no one style

of layout emerged. The graphics became increasingly complex, but occasionally the layout seemed to have been done by someone not quite together.

After the June 1970 issue, another did not appear until October 27. It was labeled Volume 1, Number 17. This issue and several before it were identified as coming "From the Catacombs of Berkeley," and there was no mention of CWLF. There were few graphics and the middle pages were solid print, containing a revolutionary catechism on one side and a point-by-point refutation or alternative offering a spiritual revolution. There was a long apologetic which consisted of little more than one Bible passage after another.

The November 19, 1970 issue was labeled Volume 2, Number 18. There was a new masthead, which would continue for the next few issues. There were articles which began to look like reviews, one an analysis of psychiatry. A testimony suggested what apparently was very common in the Jesus movement—one doper amazed to hear a former compatriot talking about Jesus, getting interested himself, and becoming a Christian. In the succeeding issues there began to appear attempts to converse with members of the counterculture in as natural a way as possible. There were no put-downs, no high-blown apologetics, just attempts to answer the questions the editors apparently were hearing on the streets and on campus. These issues began to carry more reviews, of increasing length: Catch 22, Five Easy Pieces, Jesus Christ Superstar. There were several articles which dealt with nature and the ambiguity of looking there for spiritual meaning, one of which reported on the fires sweeping

California and another on the Los Angeles earthquake. The great evangelical oasis in Switzerland, L'Abri, was mentioned for the first time in Right On, as someone wrote a testimony of how she found the Lord there.

Whenever CWLF thought of some new ministry or just some new tactic, they operated under a front name. We have already mentioned the Committee To Investigate Billy Graham, which CWLF formed to encourage people to go to his Oakland Crusade. When a few artistic people became Christians through CWLF there appeared the "Christian Revolutionary Art Center." Pamphlets advertised in Right On usually carried a coupon addressed to the Christian Information Committee.

There continued to be the flashes of humor based on anachronism which Jesus People delighted in. There was a long article called "Travels of Paul and Barney," which depicted the apostle Paul and his missionary companion Barnabus winging around Salt Lake City in a VW bus, picking up hitchhikers, inviting them to Jesus raps, etc.

There began to appear the results of little polls that CWLF had been conducting on campus. These are the polls or questionnaires referred to in Chapter IV which few in CWLF by 1973 bothered to use. Such polls typically began with a few questions regarding a current issue, such as the SDS march on ROTC. The polls usually ended with the same three questions: Do you think the human race has the ability to solve its problems? In a poll of seventy-three campus walkers reported in the December 17, 1970 issue, 73 percent said yes, and 23 percent said no. In a poll of sixty students in the February 3, 1971 issue, 71 percent

said yes and 29 percent said no. Do you believe there could be a higher spiritual power, which we might call God, who could help us if we would turn to him? On the first poll, 36 percent said yes, 64 percent said no. On the second poll, 63 percent said yes, 37 percent said no. If such a God exists would you like to know him personally? On the first poll, 66 percent said yes, 30 percent said no. On the second poll, 85 percent said yes, 15 percent said no.

CWLF activity schedules began to appear regularly, listing all the times and locations of various kinds of Bible raps, usually about seven or eight each week. The poetry which appeared was often straightforwardly didactic, but occasionally whimsical, colorful, and full of interesting images which one could find elsewhere in poetry coming out of the counterculture. In these latter poems the question of Christ or God was hinted at, but not pressed, and there were such circumlocutions as "up" or "him."

The last page was reserved for a full graphic of some sort, usually with very few words. One had a picture of a Jesus Festival and said "GODSTOCK." Another had a fuzzy picture of a great cathedral and the caption, "Free All Spiritual Prisoners."

There still occurred occasional pieces directed at Communism, one being the report of an interview with some young people who had swum away from Red China and another a protest against Russian repression of religious freedom. At the same time a story appeared entitled "Jesus Rejected by Two Orange County Sheriffs." An editorial note said that the article had appeared to show that every and any person needs Jesus.

It was the story of two Jesus Freak hitchhikers who had been stopped and questioned and who had attempted to witness. Articles attacking the Left did not have editorial notes appended.

A piece of political analysis appeared in the April 1, 1971 issue (Volume 2, Number 23). There was an attempt in Oakland to reduce drastically the size of the ghetto area Merritt College and move many of its courses and services to the hills. The article suggested there was probably no point in fighting for Merritt. People should expend their energies starting a whole new kind of school, independent of the tax structure and of typical teaching and learning situations, meeting in any available place, such as living rooms and churches.

There had begun in 1971 to appear more and more articles which were an intellectual presentation and defense of the Christian faith, many following the kind of reasoning one might find at L'Abri or Wheaton College. It was during this time that Sharon, the present editor, arrived and began to write articles, especially reviews and sympathetic statements on Women's Liberation—the latter a far cry from those that had appeared in the first year. In the spring of 1971 David also arrived.

The May 1, 1971 issue was a dramatic change. There were eight pages, the layout was much neater and more effective, a front page listed the inner contents. There were open letters to the War Crimes Committee and to the President, the former a thoughtful article connecting morality with absolute standards and suggesting that equally great crimes of psychological and spiritual murder were going unquestioned. The latter

was a homey piece of advice to the President by a Berkeley Jesus person suggesting that the country start recycling centers. More and more letters to the editor appeared. These received thoughtful answers which were never put-downs, and which often invited the writer to write again or to get in touch personally with the Right On staff. It is possible to hypothesize that as the staff began more and more to produce evangelical-intellectual apologetics and the paper became less and less "of the street," they sought means of human contact and personal witness in other ways—namely, through printing letters to the editor which received thoughtful answers, through little invitations to drop by Dwight House and dialogue with the Right On staff, and through personal statements from the staff in little columns which were evangelistic in a low-key way.

The editors were also fond of printing letters which were thoughtful, searching, and friendly critiques of the Jesus movement, letters which helpfully reflected the emerging view of the editors. One such letter reflected the remarkable lack of legalism and free rejoicing in the Gospel which has been quite typical of many of the leaders of CWLF but which is much less noticeable elsewhere in the Jesus movement and is scarcely noticeable at all among many tight-lipped evangelicals and most fundamentalists. The letter, which undoubtedly was resonant with David and Sharon's views and which was printed in the May 1971 issue in which they took primary responsibility as editors, is as follows:

Dear Editor,

I want to lay down my feelings about what turns me off about "Jesus People." It is something I feel qualified for since I have been both inside and outside of the movement. There are valid criticisms of it and there is no reason to keep them hidden because Christians should be the visible proof that Jesus is real.

I'll concentrate on five major criticisms, trying to avoid personalities and to examine errors that are more or less common.

Many Christians never listen! To many people it must seem that simultaneous with accepting Christ, a "Jesus person" goes "deaf." Which is to say that he is always willing to talk at a person but rarely with them. In some cases this is supposed to be a sign that the Christian is obsessed with truth and cannot endure falsehood. There are other equally applicable descriptions: pig-headedness, lack of concern, lack of common courtesy, unwillingness to learn where the person is at. In my experience those who are least willing to listen are those who basically doubt their faith and are not willing to take the trouble to learn the proper answers to someone's reasonable questions.

There is another side to this coin. And that is the way Christians get hung up with the people that argue for argument's sake. These types of "discussions" happen a lot and go on for many hours. But it is rare that a single word was heard by either party.

Some Christians (unconsciously?) put on a "false front" to those they witness to. They feel obligated to show themselves off as "finished creations" (which they're not), in which all hassles have either been solved or eliminated. They are so eager to express the new life within them that they mistakenly feel that there must be an immediate, radical shift in their life-style. This is both impossible and unnecessary. There will be a change, but it is one that will be dictated by God above and not by what you feel other Christians expect you to be. There are ways of applying group pressure and this can make a temporary outward change in behavior but the heart remains unconvinced. How many times must we be reminded that Jesus did not come to make us conform to a new human standard of conduct?

Some Christians seem obsessed with making people "good." I've lost count of the times I've heard a Christian tell a non-Christian to give up something, whether it is crime, dope, or sex. Don't we know that there is not one person who is separated from God because of premarital sex? Or that there is not one person who will be saved because he refrained from it?

Only one thing will condemn a person, and that is an unwillingness to exercise the potential that exists for a relationship with God, through the sacrifice of Christ and the only thing that will save a person is the desire to have their relationship—a desire strong enough to make a person give back his life to the One who gave it to him, in order to have life forever.

Christians are sometimes tools of the establishment. I hope I never hear another Christian claim that acceptance of the teachings of Jesus is acceptance of the status quo. Actually, the opposite is closer to the truth. What it means is rejection of the human way of doing things.

We have seen over and over again that human solutions to problems usually means the creation of worse problems. Acceptance of the teachings of Christ means rejecting the "pick yourself up by your own bootstraps" concept which is propagated by right and left. There is a real sense in which man is constantly the victim of forces beyond his control. God's fundamental fairness is shown by His willingness to assist us in our weakness. He will be always and only our ally; if we depend on human defenses they must crumble.

This does not mean that the world is unimportant, as some Christians believe. The "hands off" attitude of many Christians where injustice is concerned, has been a stumbling block to the propagation of the Gospel. This means taking a stand against racism, apathy, poverty and war. Oppression of any type is anti-Christian and always will be.

Why should Christians concentrate on "defusing" the Left Wing? As a matter of fact there is not one reason why Christians shouldn't picket and distribute literature at governmental offices, police stations and draft boards. If the message of Christ is relevant it must cut across political persuasions, national boundaries or one's position in society.

This is the end of the matter. What I don't like about Christians are traits I have seen in my own life at one time or another. I freely confess them now before God and man. And I know that God will forgive me for them because when He looks at me He will see the perfection of Jesus—because I've accepted His gift of life.

Actually I dig Right On and the things you're into, because I know you avoid a lot of the things I've talked about.

Thanks,

Tom

That same issue carried a tribute to Malcolm X and the regret that he identified Christianity with American Christianity. "We must go back to the beginning of Christianity. . . . Go back to Jesus Christ Himself to find out about real Christianity!!" The argument of that article would sound familiar to anyone who heard and read the message of the early Social Gospel idealists in the first decades of this century. The article continued: "America has failed because it is a land occupied

by fallen, sinful, self-centered men and women. It has failed the Black Man not because it has followed the person and teaching of the revolutionary Savior, Jesus Christ! It has failed because, in spite of the claims of some fellow travelers, not enough people HAVE followed Him. . . . Malcolm X got burned by a fake, not by real Christianity." The conclusion might not have rippled so easily off the tongues of those early Social Gospellers: "God holds out his hands not for your bread, but for your SELF. He wants to take your life like it is now, however messed over it may be, redeem you from your sin through the blood sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and give you a life of power and love with Heaven ahead."

The issue's back cover was a large picture of a young woman sitting in a field, perhaps thinking about life or herself. The caption: "We sing to you a new song / total liberation / the redeeming of life to life / spiritual rebirth / reconciliation to your God."

The second year of Right On, separated from the first year by three months without an issue, showed a new paper evolving. There was far less hip talk and less direct conversation with the street. The paper did not look as if, and did not sound as if it was arising right out of the street culture. Reviews began to appear; direct, personal, low-key conversations about the faith appeared as written articles, and increasingly there were direct, fairly intellectual apologetics—from creation to the meaning of life. There was less radical-baiting, although the paper continued to carry articles critical of radical politics and its practitioners. Presumably the editors felt that the

utopian balloon of radical politics as a new and better way for mankind had to be deflated in order to prepare the way for the hearing of a Christian message which presented itself as a way beyond Left and Right. If this was a somewhat straighter and certainly more intellectual evangelicalism, it decidedly was not an Establishment line. Right On never sounded like Billy Graham, and the culture which produced Right On and its style was distinct from Establishment evangelicalism.

In 1971 Judson Press brought out a booklet called The Street People, which was "Selections from Right On, Berkeley's Underground Student Newspaper." In it were selections from the first year and part of the second year of Right On, by Right On staff. Right On no longer looks very much like those selections in that booklet, but the introduction to that booklet describes the situation from which the first papers came:

The idea came out of Berkeley where a movement to Jesus was just getting started in the street scene. Among the brothers and sisters in the Father's forever family who lived and served there, the concept of literature geared to the language and culture had begun to take form. So when we got some bread and some stories together, we put out a paper. . . . Right On became a part of the scene, just like the other underground newspapers. . . . The idea caught on, and there are now Christian underground newspapers coming out of the youth culture all over the country. They show that something is happening among the youth of America that hadn't been expected. Right in the midst of a radical left movement and a heavy dope thing, lots of kids all over the country are finding that Jesus is the answer to their need and turning to Him as their Liberator and Leader. This new thing is not really led by the institutional church though some of the kids are into it and some are not. . . . [Right On is] all put together by brothers and⁵ sisters who were living among the people they were writing to.

The writer hoped that the readers' own creativity might be liberated so that they could relate in the same way to the people among whom they lived and worked.

A Letter to America on its birthday in the July 4, 1971 issue set a tone which would be increasingly characteristic of the editors of Right On. The radicals were right, but they did not go far enough. In the issues through the end of 1971 there were reviews of current music, of Alan Watts, Future Shock, C. S. Lewis, McCabe and Mrs. Miller, and the work of Gabriel Marcel. Jerry began a series on astrology, Buddhism was examined, Jews for Jesus was described through an interview.

The September 1971 issue (Volume 3, Number 28) was the first to carry the names of the editors and of the staff. A brief statement appeared above the staff names: "A publication seeking to present Jesus the Lord and creatively bring every thought into subjection to Him." More and more articles began to be signed. They never had been in the first year and rarely in the second. That same issue carried an open letter to Ramparts magazine, following the publication in its pages of James Nolan's stinging and funny rebuke of the Jesus movement.

Dear Sirs:

I wondered when your interviewer came to our office how Ramparts would handle an a-political movement.

Jimmy Nolan's emotional intensity and childhood imagery were a surprise, e.g., "thundering fear of hell and a candy-sweet promise of heaven." Less surprising was the fact that although we made it clear that we are not supported by the right-wing or any other political faction, allusions were made to "Jesus people with big Billy James Hargis friend-do-you-know-the-Lord grins." In this way a nonexistent relationship was implied.

Then there was the identification of evangelical Christianity with this "Nation of Ours." The fact is that most Jesus Freaks do not consider America Christian, as expressed by one brother who has written on his car, "God Judge America."

Right On was specifically lambasted for reducing everything to a religious message. But any deep treatment of the human condition necessarily becomes concerned with the core of man, his motivations—soul, will and spirit. This level of analysis, if not overtly religious, always has religious implications.

It seems that a more superficial and arbitrary treatment of humanity is political analysis. Even Sartre's analysis of a Bolshevik cell group in the play Dirty Hands ends up asking questions of personal morality. The hero can't decide if killing a certain man would be good for the party (a political issue) and ends up shooting him anyway, because the man made love to his wife (a moral-spiritual issue).

Perhaps this is the reason why good Soviet literature of late has been banned in the Soviet Union. Any good treatment of people gets into ultimate questions—questions that lie beyond politics.

Sincerely Yours,

Right On

Also in the September issue were reviews of three books on the Church, a review of Alan Watts's Berkeley lecture suggesting it was full of inconsistencies and made no ultimate sense, and a salute to laborers which included a denunciation of the rich and of materialism, based on the "early Christian brother James." The last page was Jack Sparks's unsigned answer to the Berkeley Barb's criticism of Billy Graham's recent Oakland Crusade. Sparks wrote that Graham "spoke with some wit, some insight into modern culture, and a lot to say about the Man, Jesus Christ." He suggested that Graham was not just an Establishment lackey and did not flash key words in a cheap attempt at relevance. The article, however, did suggest the ambivalence which many in CWLF felt about Graham: "Many of us either cringe or speak out at Graham's hand-holding with Nixon and others in power. But one thing has been clear in all of Graham's messages over the past two decades. He preaches a Gospel of liberation and peace, and of love and new life, through encounter and commitment to a person: Jesus Christ." The Barb was angry because Graham did not fit its pornographic exploitation of women and men, Sparks suggested. "I saw a man, many of whose personal trappings I can't get behind, working hard to present the 'old-time' Jesus' life

and love in a manner which related to the multicultural audience in attendance. The Berkeley 'People's Committee to Investigate Graham' ought to bring down a verdict of 'right on' to the extent that Jesus was held up at the Crusade, and a genuine (if qualified) appreciation of Graham's efforts."

The direction that Right On would take became evident in the remaining issues of that third year. Many were devoted to a single topic: hunger, black religion, man. Others prominently featured a lead article on a topic of interest: Noah's Ark and recent quests for it, B. F. Skinner's "humanism," strategies for social change, Jews for Jesus. A regular "media" section was begun and more and more book and film reviews were featured. In a six-month period, readers of Right On could sample Edwin Hawkins ("Has Success Spoiled Edwin Hawkins?"), Mark Hatfield, Joan Baez, Jacques Ellul, B. F. Skinner, C. S. Lewis, Cabaret, Francis Schaeffer, Mennonite communalism, Sartre, Fanon, George Jackson, Dorothy Sayers, Charles Williams, Tolkien, Zen Existentialism. Regular columns were begun and appeared regularly, especially by Jerry and Jack Sparks.

The tone of Right On was being set and it has continued to the present. What would intelligent, literate, aware people be interested in reading, seeing, doing? Is there a radical Christian perspective on such a scene? Right On believed there was and attempted to portray what such a perspective was, at least from Right On's view. The hope was that the non-Christian reader would be interested in that same scene and would be interested in seeing what a Christian perspective on it might be.

The editors were able to write that the primary purpose of the paper remained to get people to know the Lord. In the March 1972 issue the editors wrote: "As 1972 is wearing on, a lot of you out there still don't know the Lord. And this, as we have said so many times, is the whole reason Right On exists: because God is there and He cares about you and has made a way for you to actually be 'born again'—to have a new life. We are not interested in pushing ourselves at all; we are interested in your getting to know the beautiful Jesus Christ. So don't put it off."

A "Have You Seen Jesus my Lord" column regularly appeared. Sometimes it was the same and talked about knowing Jesus in two, both necessary, ways: historical and existential. Often the column was new in each issue, talking about the meaning of being a Christian in different ways and from different viewpoints. When a reader wrote suggesting the Gospel should be clear on every page as in other Jesus papers, the staff replied that they wanted to avoid pat formulas and preferred to let a variety of people talk about how they had come to Christ or to present many ways of looking at what the Christian life could be. The editors self-consciously saw themselves offering a beautiful and meaningful alternative to the hate-trips and body-trips offered by their underground competitors. They tried to make clear that they did not wish to call attention to themselves as Jesus Freaks, or to getting religion, or becoming church members. In the February 1972 issue they wrote: "No, the question the Right On brothers and sisters have for you is simply 'have you seen Jesus our Lord?' We don't ask this in a superficial way

and we don't want a quick or superficial answer. America is far too much characterized by a 'push-button' mentality, and the question 'have you seen Jesus our Lord?' deserves a careful and sensitive response." They pleaded that people would not write Christ off on the basis of bad experiences with some Christians, fellow travelers, or bandwagon opportunists, or because the educational establishment found it necessary to dismiss Jesus without a hearing. They made clear in this column and often that Christianity was not "a box of easy livin'."

To the extent that Right On succeeded and moved forward with a change and development unlike almost all other Jesus papers, it was probably the result of a group of interesting and interested people trying to produce a paper that they liked to produce, writing about the things they were into, and letting the paper become the evidence of their own hard work at developing a Christian life-style that had intellectual and spiritual integrity. Of course, there had to be an audience adjustment. If this was what Right On had become and the path it would keep taking, then semiliterate Jesus Freaks would no longer find the paper useful, Jesus-boppers who wanted the address of the nearest coffee house or the latest Christian jargon developed by older and wiser Jesus professionals would have to look elsewhere. (Actually, the latter had probably never been reading Right On to begin with.) The editors came to believe that they should write for a literate audience and that the real mission to many other potential Christian people out there was a mission that others needed to fill and in different ways. Right On knew what it wanted to be doing. An audience would follow. Actually, reader

response had already encouraged the direction it was taking.

The direction that Right On took in its fourth year (1972-73) was more of the same. The reviews became more sophisticated, the writing and layout kept improving, and there increasingly appeared "scoop" interviews. Already in the third year Edwin Hawkins had been interviewed. In the fourth year there were interviews with Marjoe, Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers and running for Mayor of Oakland; Larry Norman, the most famous and successful of the Jesus singers; Stacker Thompson, who played Jesus in the San Francisco production of Godspel; George Landow the film maker; Hans Rookmaaker, a Dutch art critic and evangelical intellectual; Rita Coolidge, a country gospel singer; John Lennon and Yoko; Tim Rice, the lyricist for Jesus Christ Superstar; Hal Lindsey, and, through the supplement "Rock in Jesus," Chi Coltrane and Paul Stookey.

In the July 1972 issue, the first of the paper's fourth year, the editors wrote: "One thing we have tried to get across through Right On is that there is a beautiful, exciting, viable, radical alternative to the death and despair, trip-oriented life-styles and philosophies promulgated in the great majority of our competitor publications. But we have tried hard to avoid simplifying life into a set of magical formulas. Life, including life as a follower of Jesus, is more complex than that. But Biblical Christianity is a live option and the best and most satisfying at that. The life of the body, the life of the soul, and the life of the mind flourish under the Lordship of Jesus Christ."

In his regular column, "The Androclean Outlook," Jack Sparks wrote:

It was the first of July 1969 when we got out the first issue of Right On. There were just two of us and it was a new experience. We had only the vaguest idea of what the response would be. Our decision to publish was based on the certainty of the need for the publication of a Christian point of view in the Berkeley scene and the inner assurance that God would enable us to communicate.

He mentioned a recent letter from a reader who commented on "your obvious love and concern and gentleness" in the very first issue which had made her think. Since that time she had come to the Lord. He mentioned several people in Berkeley who had come to the Lord through Right On's ministry. "Right On was the first of the Christian newspapers (underground or otherwise) to arise in the youth scene. Now there are more than fifty around the world." He continued:

The two of us who had such a difficult time putting out that first paper could not have continued on a regular basis. Nor could we have brought about all the improvements which have made Right On develop almost continuously into a more effective communication. That required the development of a staff of sensitive, spiritually alive people who could communicate in a relevant fashion. There was no way we could have hunted them out or paid them. Yet here they are. Throughout the three-year history of Right On there has been a constant development so that today the staff is a truly able, functioning body of people who plan and issue a paper that reaches out to the reader, touching him intellectually and spiritually.

He wrote about the changing Berkeley scene, the decline of radical activism, the ongoing quest for the meaning of life.

The Right On staff plans to keep right on analyzing the scene we live in, the movies we watch, the books we read, in order to keep on showing the reality of Jesus Christ and the existence of true answers to life's most perplexing problems. As from the beginning we continue at the brink of financial disaster. We have never sought financial stability and it hasn't come. We publish as we've managed to scrape up the funds. We simply have faith that God will enable us to publish as long as He wants us to. So be it.

That first issue in the fourth year had an excellent statement of the "intentionalist" position in social ethics—"radical change must come from the bottom up—through the establishment of alternative life-styles

which are based upon a new concept of community and human relationships." The article, "The True and the False Revolution," closed with the words: "We are not called to make a sick world well; we are called to live well. That is a powerful political act in itself. In the final analysis, it means being the revolution." Many articles, and the whole tone of the paper, continued to be informed by a reasoned presentation of radical Christianity as a viable, third alternative.

Some of the staff of Right On went to Miami Beach and covered both conventions, at the same time staffing a "Forever Family" tent in the midst of Flamingo Park. The reactions to the conventions suggested again that Right On's third way was not political-spiritual, but spiritual. There seemed to be a retreat from any politics, almost a washing one's hands of it. Nevertheless, Mark Hatfield continued to be pointed up, especially his words at the Nixon prayer breakfast.

In the October 1972 issue David began a regular column called "The Radical Christian." He looked for an alternative beyond the New Left, beyond the Jesus movement. "If the fault of the New Left and the student revolution has been a failure to produce an adequate basis for a lasting revolution, the fault of the Jesus movement is that, having found a solid base, it has adopted anti-intellectual and anti-cultural attitudes and thus failed to carry out the implications of being disciples of the Lord of the Universe." He called in this and subsequent columns for a radical discipleship as best evidenced in the Anabaptist tradition.

Already in the third year the paper had regularly appeared in twelve pages. In the fourth year it often appeared in sixteen and even twenty pages. Partly, this was due to an experiment of several months with a supplement, "Rock in Jesus," a review of Jesus music published in Dallas. The supplement was discontinued for several reasons. Rock in Jesus was not paying its way, there seemed only so much to write about Jesus music without becoming repetitious, the extensive coverage (four pages) of Jesus music in such a small paper seemed to overstate its overall cultural importance.

In the fourth year there were book reviews of Jacques Ellul, Buckminster Fuller, Alvarez's study of suicide, several works by Francis Schaeffer and John W. Montgomery, Vance Packard, Jonathan Livingston Seagull, R. D. Laing, Benjamin Zablocki's The Joyful Community, Os Guinness' The Dust of Death. There were movie reviews of Godspel, Clockwork Orange, Slaughterhouse 5, Anna Karenina, Hammersmith, Crime and Punishment, Bergman's Cries and Whispers, and Brother Sun Sister Moon.

With increasing sophistication, especially in the fourth year of Right On, these reviews presented the film or book with honesty and sympathy and then went on to react from the Christian perspective of the reviewer. Rarely did this take the form of an altar call or "Jesus is the answer." Often it was a critical reaction to the artist's diagnosis of the human condition. Sometimes it agreed with that diagnosis but turned away from the solution, if there was one, or from pessimism, if that was evident, toward Christianity as a meaningful response to this human predicament.

The only theological works that were reviewed were authored by well-thought-of evangelicals, such as Schaeffer and Guinness. These reviews were always appreciative, although there was occasional disagreement. The introductions to the works of Jacques Ellul and John Montgomery were also appreciative. Why other theological works were not dealt with is not clear. Perhaps the authors, usually David, felt these evangelical works best presented the common viewpoint that informed Right On's theology and so were valuable as additional resources, but did not wish to enter the theological marketplace. Possibly neither the Right On reviewers nor the audience would have been interested in the many theological books published in America. An extensive dialogue with the varieties of theology outside that common to Right On could have turned Right On into a theological journal, amateurish, or an irrelevant head-trip. Presumably the editors did not consider such works sufficiently relevant to Right On's tasks. They may have been right, but we shall have to take this question up again in the next chapter.

One of the books on the Jesus movement, researched in 1971, suggested there were some sixty Jesus newspapers with a combined monthly circulation of more than one million.⁶ The November 5, 1972 New York Times believed there were twenty-five to fifty fairly stable monthlies. Until about 1972 the Hollywood Free Paper, founded in 1969 by Duane Pederson, was the largest Jesus paper in circulation and pitched to a teenage audience. It was long on cliché and short on depth. Its circulation reached 500,000 and went over a million for such events as the Rose Bowl. By 1972-73 it seemed to be merging into a magazine

format, serving the cause of Jesus People International, also founded by Pederson. Its circulation and frequency then declined. Another major Jesus paper is Truth, founded in Spokane by Carl Parks and published by his Voice of Elijah Inc. McFadden calls Truth the most professionally edited⁷ of the Jesus papers.

Right On would outlast all these papers. It has grown in style, depth, and number of pages. Its development shows increasing sophistication and it is looking more like an evangelical magazine of opinion. It has probably moved itself out of the Jesus movement, although the growth of individual Jesus People may be assumed at least in some cases to parallel Right On's growth. Right On has become respectable. If there were a radical evangelical establishment, Right On would belong to it. Whether the radicalness of Right On would be able to survive increasing success, especially if it were financial success, and increasing commitment to a positive worldview and interaction with the culture remains to be seen.

Right On's circulation has gone from a few thousand to fifty thousand. During much of its third year and part of its fourth, that was the circulation figure given for the paper. From February of 1973 there was a significant drop in circulation, partly from lack of funds, but mostly because the editors wanted to move Right On in a new direction. At its height of circulation Right On was distributed and then handed out in vast quantities to many campuses in the Bay Area. Usually a small group of Christians on a campus would take responsibility for picking up as many bundles of Right On as they could use each month and hand them

out. CWLF itself would see to Right On's distribution in Berkeley and some other campuses.

Now the editors wanted to sell Right On for 25 cents. It appeared axiomatic to them that you cannot both sell a paper and give it away. Whenever the editors thought about the future, they thought about such papers as Rolling Stone. They wanted a paper that could be sold in vending machines, on newsstands, and in bookstores other than Christian ones. They also believed they saw, perhaps it was a rationalization for their intended action, a decreasing interest in handouts on college campuses. Students were being leafleted to death. They believed that intelligent, interested people would rather pay a quarter for "something good." In the end more people who wanted the paper would end up reading it, they believed. Whether Right On would keep reaching as many non-Christians, one of its stated goals, remained to be seen. How would they come in contact with it and be interested enough to buy it? The editors believed it would happen.

A friend of Right On gave enough money in the spring of 1973 to purchase ten vending machines, which as a pilot project were placed around the Bay Area. There was also an effort to increase the national subscription list, which in June 1973 numbered about two thousand. There were another five to ten thousand paid bulk orders each month. The press run since February 1973 has been fifteen to twenty thousand each month. The staff began to spend more time looking for subscribers than for opportunities to give Right On away free.

In the spring of 1973 Right On also was awarded an outright grant of \$5,000 by a Christian foundation and another \$5,000 matching if Right On could raise \$5,000, which they nearly accomplished. David believed that would "guarantee us quality for at least two years—\$15,000 is \$500 a month for thirty months. During that time we can build up sales and subscriptions, continue our present editorial path, not have to cut back our pages for lack of money, and spend our energies in ways other than just surviving. We're really excited about the grant. It means we can keep going."

Right On has always run near the red and occasionally had to put out smaller issues when they could not pay the printer. In 1973 their expenses were about \$1,500 per month, almost all of which went to pay actual costs. Not more than \$450 a month total went to a few people who worked for the paper. Most of them, of course, must find additional "support" elsewhere.

About \$400 a month came to the paper in outright contributions, about \$400 from subscriptions, and about \$200-400 from bulk orders and \$100-800 in paid advertising. A small amount of advertising began to appear in 1972 when the staff began actively seeking it. From February to June 1973 the paper averaged about \$500 each month in advertising. Rate sheets and letters of introduction were sent out to about one hundred key targets whose advertising is sought. Most ads have been from Christian publishers and bookstores, but some have appeared from Bible colleges and seminaries. Most Christian colleges, however, advertise in Establishment evangelical papers geared to high school youth. The

editors place restrictions on ads. They of course would not accept the sex ads which seem to keep the Berkeley Barb and other underground papers afloat. Nor would they accept ads for Jesus trinkets and other commercializations of the movement.

The staff is generally sure about the path they are taking with Right On. For the future they look for more of the same. They have set the pattern and now seek to do it better and better and for an increasingly large audience. They feel most acutely the need for a dynamic promoter and business manager. They do not intend to take the grant money and "spend it wildly" in six months. They hope to keep building month by month. Their experience with "Rock in Jesus" has dampened their enthusiasm for any drastic changes in direction or wild schemes.

The paper has never sought any written or even oral subscription to any theological statement or creed. There is the assumption that all work under the Lordship of Christ. "There is a common confession that Jesus is Lord. We've never attempted a restrictive definition of inspiration, authority, etc."

They envision an audience, Christian and non-Christian, that is literate, though not necessarily intellectual, in their twenties. Their confidence in reaching a non-Christian market is related to their belief that truth is universal and will find a response. They want their audience to "understand where we're at" and "we want to articulate that very well." They hope specifically that intellectuals, radicals, and "heads" will read the paper. They want to make the paper attractive enough so that people who read such papers will read it, but refuse to

lower the paper to the requirements and inclinations of those who do not typically read and who seek their spiritual sustenance, if they are Christians, in other ways. Occasionally the paper is sent to people Right On would like to influence—the Berkeley City Council, the President, Billy Graham, and others.

David believes the most significant change in the paper's four-year history is the solidifying of its effort and its great stability, once regular and committed editors came on the scene in 1971. In 1972 David left his job as a high school teacher and joined Sharon to work full time for Right On. David has described their working relationship as "two peas in a pod." "Since 1971 we've published regularly, eight pages or more. The direction has definitely been more of a newspaper-magazine than a small propaganda sheet. Even from the beginning, however, Jack never thought it should be overtly evangelistic. He never wanted a tract disguised as an underground newspaper. He wanted a paper that would speak intelligently to radicals, heads, and students in their medium."

The editors stress the idea of creativity in their Christian witness. They avoid "cramming articles with Bible verses," although they occasionally quote Bible verses in answers printed in their letters column. David has said that "the straightest witness is not necessarily the best witness. We don't want to use the four spiritual laws nor end every article with an altar call." The Christian witness comes out of the whole life. This is not an old testimony paper." One of the reasons for the continued printing of the "Have You Seen Jesus My Lord" column

is to provide a clear and simple witness in a particular place which would also make it unnecessary to think of a way to speak the Gospel clearly and completely in every article. This column enables the staff to witness directly to its faith and to its hope for the reader. A more general theological orientation or viewpoint pervades the entire paper.

In talking about Right On particularly and Christian literature generally at CWLF's Radical Street Christianity Workshop in the summer of 1972, David said Right On wanted a balance so that there would clearly be the simplest Gospel presentation that anyone could come to faith and at the same time always a grappling with intellectual issues from a Christian viewpoint. He stressed that Right On was oriented to people who read. He said that Right On generally had remained silent where possible on many public issues, but was acutely aware that silence also could mean assent. He discussed why the paper reviews things it didn't endorse. "We want to write about what people are seeing and reading. From our viewpoint." He believed that charges that Right On was too intellectual came from people who did not bother to read Right On, or anything at all.

Right On's goal was to speak Christ into all of life. "We expect that it may make you do your homework. It is more nurture than evangelism." Generally Right On has not featured directly theological articles, hoping instead that theology would infuse the entire paper. They have resisted one staff member's suggestion that a Bible study of some kind be incorporated in each issue or that articles on theological

subjects or doctrines be included.

Right On aspires to look at as much of the world and culture as it has resources, energy, and space for. Its perspective while viewing the world scene broadly is relatively circumscribed and evangelical. In having a viewpoint it differs from no magazine. It wants to articulate its viewpoint as clearly as possible for the reader. It would subscribe to the motto "Let the buyer beware." The editors believe that many periodicals are not nearly as honest about their perspectives and presuppositions as they might be. Because Right On is, it may sometimes seem narrow.

Nearly everyone who has written on the Jesus movement and who remarks on Jesus papers calls Right On the most sophisticated, the most literate, the best. (Many of these authors mention CWLF's Jesus People news service. That never really developed.) By 1973 perhaps only five or ten Jesus papers were being published with any regularity. Right On has had energy, resources, and people enough to keep it at the head of CWLF's ministries. Its success has given CWLF a large image around the country among Jesus People and interested evangelicals.

During 1972-73 the future of Right On was always clouded. There were internal power struggles between Larry and the editors. A few people in CWLF thought Right On had forsaken its original mission, though they never said this out loud. The editors were continually frustrated in getting some of the "general" funds which came into CWLF and consequently were continually running near the red and could not expand in the ways they wished. They construed this as a slap on the

wrist from Larry, who continually expressed to the editors (although not to CWLF generally) his unhappiness with the direction the paper was taking. He was particularly incensed over the Bobby Seale interview and the sympathetic and prominent coverage it got.

The editors also remember well the time a critical article on Campus Crusade's Dallas Explo in the summer of 1972 was simply dropped when they were both out of town. The art and layout editor was the wife of Larry, and Larry was thus able to keep abreast of both articles and letters to be printed before they came into print.

Another CWLF brother, Mike, whom we met in Chapter II, has occasionally expressed reservations about Right On. In a staff meeting once he mentioned how Jacques Ellul's neo-orthodoxy in a Biblical commentary nearly "made him puke." He was concerned the way Ellul was being trumpeted in Right On. When Right On received a personal letter from Ellul, David was exuberant and let everyone know about it. Mike admitted that perhaps he was jealous of Right On's fame.

Another reason for internal tension was an ongoing debate about the extent to which Right On should be a house organ of CWLF. Sharon was almost completely opposed to the idea. David was hesitant until he could be convinced that CWLF was getting its house in order. Larry and others felt that this should be a significant mission of Right On. Certainly in the early days Right On was one means of attracting people around the country to the ministry that CWLF was carrying on. Yet even those issues rarely carried any specific articles about things CWLF was doing. There were occasional schedules of CWLF Bible raps in the

second and third years of Right On, but there were never articles about CWLF ministries on campus, at the Ranch, or on the streets.

Some, including David, felt that Right On could be a creative expression of some of the more significant things CWLF was doing. A viable and creative community would generate things worth writing about. Some could even imagine the paper becoming a product or outcome of a certain kind of community. David was interested in the possibility of the Crucible steering committee serving as kind of an editorial board for Right On or of Crucible increasingly using Right On as a literary outlet for its best efforts. Sharon was much more committed to keeping Right On autonomous—with respect to Crucible and certainly with respect to being any kind of house organ for CWLF.

In June 1973 David announced that he would be leaving CWLF and Right On to accept a position at a Bible college in Los Angeles. He hoped also to begin work on a Ph.D. in church history. This dramatic announcement had a remarkable effect on CWLF. Jack rallied to express his support for Right On, expressed his confidence in Sharon as the now sole editor, and took quiet steps to restrict Larry's authority. In fact, Larry announced that he would be leaving CWLF in the fall of 1973. David's departure defused the entire situation, and Right On would seemingly be able to continue on the course he had been so active in setting. He would continue to write his monthly column on radical Christianity. How much the paper would miss his skills and energy and how well Sharon would handle the administration duties which she disliked and generally had avoided remained to be seen.

Letters to Street Christians

Although Right On is the most significant literary production of CWLF, its origins lie in a broad-based effort to produce a new kind of Christian literature geared to the streets and the campus. The early CWLF missionaries copied the radical tactics and tried to produce leaflets suitable for every important occasion. Their goal was to "make Jesus relevant to whatever issue happened to be on top at the moment." They rejected Gospel tracts both because their appearance was inappropriate to the scene in which CWLF operated and because their language was hopelessly out of touch. The increasing concern with language led to the "Letters to Street Christians." These were very loose paraphrases of sections of New Testament epistles written in what CWLF people believed to be the prevailing hip style. Sections of them appeared as leaflets, then as pamphlets, and finally they were produced as a paperback.

Because they were so historically immediate they became dated fast. That in itself is no criticism. All revolutionary pamphleteering becomes quaint with amazing speed. This piece of literature is somewhat unique in that it was a historically conditioned (indeed conditioned not to a century or a decade, but probably to two or three years) paraphrase of very lasting documents. Some, however, have argued that nobody on the street ever spoke that way. Some of the language is not unlike that of the Hollywood Free Paper's attempt to talk about Jesus in teeny-bopper, quasi-hippie language. Nevertheless, there were others who might argue in the words of the first Christian converts at Pentecost: "We hear

them telling in our own tongues the mighty works of God" (Acts 3:11). Not a few people were amazed to find the New Testament making sense to them. Their hearts were warmed and their interests kindled when they came across God speaking like that.

The two brothers, Jack and Fred, who did that paraphrase had no expert knowledge of Greek. They consulted every translation and paraphrase of the New Testament they could find, worked with Greek texts and dictionary when they could, struggled, groped, and prayed. Sometimes, in good translator fashion, they agonized for hours or days over a single passage.

The best judges of their work, they would say, are readers. Many found this paraphrase helpful. Others never use it and good-naturedly belittle it. Letters to Street Christians did not seem to be widely used within CWLF after 1971. At Family Meetings or other occasions it is not unusual for Jack to want to read a passage, call for "his" paraphrase, and discover that no one has it with them. He, however, usually does carry a copy with him. No doubt the enormous effort required to produce any translation or paraphrase of a sacred document would make that paraphrase almost part of oneself. Reading it would recall all the spiritual effort and hard work that went into it. It becomes almost a spiritual testament.

Following are a few selections from Letters to Street Christians:

First of all we want you to know that we thank the Father through Jesus for your trust in Him which is being felt by people everywhere. The Father knows that we want to see the family getting it together, being together, sharing with each other, using the spiritual abilities He's given us, and helping each other to grow

in our relationship with Him. We really NEED each other as brothers and sisters. But we owe people; we owe the Good News to ALL people everywhere. Birchers and businessmen, communists and creeps. (Romans 1:8-15)

The Spirit Himself whispers deep inside us that we really are kids in the Father's family. (Romans 8:16)

Dig it! Jesus IS everything that the law was pushing for. He brings right standing with God to all people who receive Him. (Romans 10:4)

Before the creation of the world God had a mind-blowing secret that He kept from people until He sent His Son. Now He's spreading it around the world and those who trust Him understand it. Dig the secret: Jesus—living inside your human body and promising you forever life with Him. That's why we go around talking about Jesus to everybody we meet, giving them a chance to turn from themselves and follow Him. That way all people have a chance to be what God wants them to be. What better way could you pour out the energy the Father has put inside you? (Col. 1:24-29)

To appreciate this extremely loose paraphrase one has to sit down and read it as something new. Or imagine some freak sitting in the shadows on Telegraph Avenue or an incredulous student sitting by Ludwig's Fountain on the University campus. If one tries to read it in connection with a standard translation, one quickly becomes infuriated. There are no chapter or verse markings. Entire verses seem to be left out at the whim of the paraphraser. The novice "serious Bible student" may find it beneath him or undependable. Yet there are countless fresh turns of phrase that are exactly right. The paraphrase is an excellent awakener to the possibility that God might be speaking a contemporary language. In a way, the appearance of these letters in book form is already an institutionalization which removes their original intent and impact. They were pamphlets passed out to be read in all kinds of places.

They were meant to turn someone on to the idea that the New Testament might be interesting reading. It would be possible to alter the work by removing all those phrases which are no longer current and replacing them with more general phrases. That would give the book a much longer reading life. It might also take away its freshness. Perhaps they were letters, fresh and exciting, to a scene that no longer is.

Other Literature

Sparks continued to believe in the importance of language as the clothing for the Christian message. He felt that works that were unintelligible or which took great effort to relate to were keeping people from facing up to who God is. "Our writing in CWLF is personal witnessing. We are sitting down and talking and making sure you understand the words we're using." That writing grew out of conversational situations. Sparks has often said, "All we learned in those days came from face-to-face contact."

There was literature aplenty which was doing exactly what Sparks thought literature should do. But it was all secular, he thought. "Christians have abdicated the world of literature to secularists. Everybody but Christians is into it. Those Christians who were, were out of the Berkeley context. People in business suits handing out four-color tracts. The prophets used unforgettable, colloquial illustrations. We wanted to forget religious jargon and verses." At the Radical Street Christianity Workshop, Sparks discussed the principles CWLF had evolved. "1. Literature must have a context, a format acceptable to people that you're trying to reach. It must be

understandable language and not be something else in disguise. 2. It must catch the eye and be memorable. Conversations, parables, cartoons are good. 3. People must get out and do it, not just consider doing it or fault the stuff already done. We failed gloriously and we produced some good stuff."

CWLF was especially active at major peace marches with literature and extra editions of Right On. But there were countless occasions when leaflets were prepared: picketing the sex clubs at North Beach, leafleting the crowd at a Nixon fund-raising dinner and trying especially hard to get to those going into the dinner, Krishna parades, People's Park celebrations and riots, the appearances of countercultural or Eastern gurus, SDS activities, City Council meetings. Wherever crowds gathered, CWLF tried to be there with a handout.

CWLF literature was often playful, especially in the early days of CWLF. It was usually more of an attention-getter than a straight, serious message. There was usually a "but have you thought of this, too" quality about it. It fell somewhere in between the heavy raps of the Left and the hippie flowers in the guns of the National Guardsmen. Ginsberg's poem "How to Make a March/Spectacle" suggests that demonstrations should "lay aside their usually grave and pugnacious quality in favor of a festive dancing and chanting parade that would pass out balloons and flowers, candy and kisses, bread and wine to everyone along the line of march—including the cops and any Hell's Angels in the vicinity. The atmosphere should be one of gaiety and affection, governed by the intention to attract or seduce participation from the usually

impassive bystanders—or at least to overcome their worst suspicions and hostilities."⁹ There were times when CWLF approached that attitude. Sparks has said of the early days: "Mostly we learned to be fools for Christ. We learned to be unafraid of people, never to fear anyone so much we wrote him off." Of course, a crucial by-product of such a lack of fear is that CWLF did not have to appear defensive and heavy. They probably did not achieve such a playful attitude most of the time—and perhaps did not want to.

What does the tactic of using literature mean? Is it to educate the people? Is it to convert radicals? Is it to keep students and street people from becoming radicals and encourage them to consider another alternative? Is it to make evangelicals feel good? Is it a means of acting out? Is it proving to yourself that Christians can be militant too? Is it a mission to show Christ is worth considering even as all other things are being considered? Is it saying Christians do not have to take second place to anybody? That the Christian faith can compete in the marketplace? That Christianity is as exciting (and more so) than anything else? That Christians can do it?

Probably all these factors are present in CWLF's efforts. The measure of a tactic is whether it promotes the movement's goals. CWLF grew in influence. Presumably it did win a hearing for the Gospel. It did gain credibility for the idea that Christianity could compete in the marketplace. It did strengthen some Christian nerve. There were people who responded, if not directly to literature, then to what was behind the literature. Above all, the literature ministry of CWLF seemed to

show that Christians were alive, that they were unafraid, that they believed they had something worth saying, that they had an alternative to present, that Christianity was not a dead issue. This literature and the scrappy, enthusiastic, pesky, ubiquitous, naive, bold people who handed it out were the medium for that message. And they believed that the real message was that God was alive, unafraid, worth considering, a viable alternative.

Street Theater

Street Theater existed in Jack Spark's head long before it came into being. When he met Frank at Dallas Seminary, he said "I've been waiting two and a half years for you to come along." Street Theater had seemed one more in a whole bag of tactics which Christians ought to be using to get their message across, to further their goal. It waited, in CWLF's view, for God to bring along the right talent. The time was ripe.

Frank, who came to CWLF and Berkeley to begin a street theater, likes to talk and write about the fact that theater had its origins in religious rites and drama. He sees no clear history of the development of religious drama in modern times.

Frank became interested in drama in college, where he majored in oral interpretation. He had seen Radical Theater in New York and had been tremendously impressed. "It was a theater of images. It was not serious, it was a rip-off, it was obscene, homosexual, but it was street theater in style. It left a lasting impression on me."

After two years at Dallas Seminary he came to Berkeley. He and the troupe of eight brothers and sisters were committed to developing a unique open-air phenomenon. "Images can be seen from a distance, sounds can't. Images stay in a person's mind. We did shows a year ago that people who come up still remember vividly."

When the group began to do street theater they had never seen any. Frank was aware of the Lamb's Players, a Christian group in San Diego. They are the closest to CWLF's street theater yet completely different. "They put together one play and tour the country doing it. They simply do indoor theater outdoors. We're separating ourselves from that. The closest thing in the secular world is the East Bay Sharks. They sometimes use music but do a very central kind of show. Yet there is an indoor type of relation between the performers. The San Francisco Mime troupe also uses indoor techniques."

The group began to go through short sketches, trying to think through the elements of good street theater. They were familiar with the sketches of the "Committee" in San Francisco and of the Ace Trucking Company. They tried to become accomplished in short sketches so that passers-by could get a completion without staying for a long period of time. They recognized that their audience might continually be coming and going, that the crowd at the end would probably not have been present at the beginning. They worked every day on vocal projection aiming to be heard by crowds of as many as 1,200.

There were no professionals in the troupe that was assembled—and no prima donnas. They wrote all their own material and never had

any major characters, no lead roles with supporting performers. The group remained unified and grew together as a small community. "Even if we used a script, everyone got an equal share. Because we were not professionals we never got a quality of polished performance. The audiences didn't seem to care. We of course kept improving all the time."

The people in street theater work in spurts, perhaps five or six hours a day for three months, and then relax for a period of time. At peak periods they may be together for ten or twelve hours a day. "Essentially we are living together, up to sixty hours a week." After frenzied periods they may "split and cool off," working fifteen hours a week and even less.

They have used many techniques to develop their craft. Often they do not rehearse a show, they just fantasize. Someone tells the group a fantasy and everyone tries to complete it. They begin to pull out things that people have held down very deep. The process is creative on the one hand and molds the group almost into an encounter session on the other hand. "It becomes a therapeutic group. We work off each other. After a while we forget ourselves and respond to each other instinctively. This becomes important when we are performing, often ad-libbing, before audiences." Other times in rehearsal they do exercises in which they imagine they are steel or balloons or a train, trying to become infinitely malleable.

Frank believes God uses that, molding the group to his purposes in concrete situations. They are able to pick up inspiration and ideas

from an audience. Is the audience on drugs? Is it an uptight Christian group? God uses the street theater, Frank believes, to speak uniquely into situations.

Members of street theater sometimes say that performance is not nearly as important as their growth and process as a group. Most of their productions grow directly out of their rehearsals. There have been only two shows with actual scripts. Frank's idea of the creative process is to work on a basic idea or statement and then let it develop endlessly. In the production each performer ends up speaking to the audience statements that he himself has created in rehearsal. There is no sense of the performer being a mere technician.

The group has performed often on the Berkeley campus and at Stanford, Hayward, Sonoma, San Francisco State, College of Marin, California College of Arts and Crafts, Cal Poly at San Luis Obispo (sponsored by Campus Crusade there), Chabot College, and various junior colleges. They have also performed at Union Square and Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco, in People's Park in Berkeley, and at a Presbyterian Convention in Omaha.

People do not usually know that street theater is part of CWLF. "People often refer to us as the Berkeley Street Theater, but we have no name. Our leaflets which we often hand out after a drama simply refer to a Christian Information Committee." Street theater is relatively autonomous in CWLF, even more so than Right On has been. They have the feeling of being a separate entity.

They have begun performing in churches occasionally. "We never mention money when we go to a church. If they mention money we say, 'Pray about it.' We don't want them thinking they can buy us or that we're selling."

The group recognizes that "drama is not a concise teaching tool." Their theater is deliberately not overtly evangelistic, although they recognize that some drama, which they consider bad drama, has been. They want to give people some images to remember, to do some things hard to say in words. "There are more efficient ways directly to edify the saints. And we certainly don't exist to entertain the saints."

When street theater first came into being Frank invited anyone and everyone in CWLF to come. Thirty-five came. As they began to rehearse more and more the group narrowed to twelve. Many of them were not very good. Eventually the group narrowed to six dedicated people. When it became clear that two of them were taking too much time, Frank talked this over with them and asked them to leave and seek other ministries. They did.

Street theater has never required previous experience or taken people on for a probation period. When Elizabeth, whom we met in Chapter II, felt called to street theater she prayed about it for some time and talked it over with various people in street theater. They also prayed about it and talked it over among themselves. The chief concern was "a demonstrable walk with God and an ability to work with every member of the group." Frank believes that difficulties in performing probably relate to ego problems. If a person can relate to the group he

can probably perform. If anyone in the group is calling attention to himself, the group deals with it. Feelings are seldom hurt and the group has grown extremely close. Two members of the group were married in June 1973.

In 1973 there were five men and three women in street theater. Frank and another male had both majored in drama-related fields in college. Some of the others had had some dramatic experience in high school and college. Two of the members of the troupe are Hebrew-Christians, one of them Arnie, whom we met in Chapter II. In the summer of 1973 some of the "interns" who came to spend a few months with CWLF joined street theater for a period of six weeks.

Frank believes the troupe could become considerably larger if it were handled well. He dreams of a creative group which would work with films, TV, indoor theater as well as street theater. "We would have to have a really close body. A Christian Church actually!"

Funds which come into CWLF earmarked for street theater are used for travel, makeup, and other expenses, but none for compensation to the actors. Each must raise his own support through prayer letters or other means. None has another job, simply because there would be too many conflicting hours. All of the troupe do other things in and about CWLF, but these remain secondary. Frank (and his wife, who is not in street theater) probably receives the most support and that is only \$200 per month. The others are all single, except for the couple who married.

Frank has become very enthusiastic about the future by 1973, partly in response to what he considers the increasingly healthy

situation in CWLF and partly in response to the artistic dreams he and others are having. "We're really in environmental communication. We're taking the communication process out of an artificial setting. We really saw that at Omaha. We saw the possibility of people applying truths to their lives out of a real situation." He thinks such ministries as Street Theater, Right On, and Crucible could "really rock the country if we got going. There can also be inter-stimulation. Several creative communities doing their things and encouraging and influencing each other." He sees new visions developing in CWLF, which "are far more important than any structural changes."

The goal of the street theater productions is to make people think about the human condition and situation. "Our shows are never straight Gospel shows. Some never even mention God or Christ. We are not trying to lead people to a decision but to get them to stop, listen, and walk away appreciating and thinking. We doubt you can convert someone in a few minutes anyway." They often hand out a leaflet after a show. Even these leaflets are not overtly evangelistic.

At the Radical Street Christianity Workshop in the summer of 1972 Frank talked about creativity and drama. "The important thing is to look at things in clean fresh ways. We Christians could produce a Godspel. We're always afraid of heresy, hesitant to try the new. What creative things are Jesus People doing? We have the Spirit but do dry stuff. It's sterile, imitative, sameness. We must take the truth of God and apply it in new, challenging, creative ways. We should be out in front."

In the spring of 1973 Street Theater produced a kind of general prayer letter. It was four pages, with pictures of each member of the troupe in action and a front-page picture of a very large crowd gathered to watch the street theater perform in Sproul Plaza on the Berkeley campus. The copy on the first page read:

It has now been seven months since CWLF first began using Street Theater. God has certainly taught us much during these months. This prayer letter is to let you see each of the members of our group more closely. We want you to be able to pray for our needs as a group and as individuals. We have been trying various techniques in the past, and we have some specific projects for the future. We ask that you join us in praying for God's guidance and His blessing.

During the past two months we have added some new shows to our repertoire. "Choose or Lose" and "Registration" are contrasting shows. "Choose or Lose" is a comedy playing off the TV education that our generation has received. The production takes a college student, Willy Nilly, through a series of game shows. The first game starts Willy off with being born. From there he is moved through the stages of his life. At each stage he plays a game. After he has won a number of prizes, including a family, Willy gambles it all for an unseen prize behind a door. He wins death. "Registration" is a heavy drama concentrating on the alienation within any large society. This show is extremely harsh. With most of the cast playing mentally ill roles, there is an uneasy atmosphere surrounding the production. The outcome of the show is that the answer to our problems does not lie in government or in programs. Rather, for people to be free and happy they need Jesus. With both of the shows, leaflets are used to apply the Gospel to the production.

The Street Theater ministry is not as straightforwardly evangelical as that letter makes it seem. One could certainly walk away from many shows without the feeling that he needs Jesus or even the opinion that that's what the performers wanted to say. Of course, many in the crowd do not receive the leaflets that are handed out after the show.

The prayer letter contained statements from each of the troupe members. One wrote about acting out "our view of mankind in this dying

world." Another mentioned that "a number of Christians have said that we get the message across" and mentioned the leaflet following the production of "Registration" which "juxtaposes the ugliness of life in a secular superstate and the fulfillment and freedom that come with a relationship with God."

Another mentioned "performing to glorify the Lord rather than ourselves. We are going into the world to give to them what is important rather than take from them." There was mention of the importance of Christians developing a keen sense of humor and not appearing drab and lifeless. Several mentioned the effect street theater was having on their personal lives, leading them to a more trusting relationship with God and with each other. Frank mentioned that the beginning audiences had ranged from fifty to two hundred and that current audiences were averaging from two hundred to four hundred fifty. He continued:

When we first began, our shows were in the Walt Disney tradition. Our newer shows have been more in line with the thinking of the Berkeley student. They are more abrupt and coarse. Each show makes a social statement and then applies the Gospel. I believe that we are being received by the Berkeley community as more responsible citizens with the right to speak out.

Presumably the application of the Gospel mentioned relates more to the pamphlet than the show.

Street Theater seems to be an effective medium and the CWLF troupe seems to be employing it with a good deal of expertise. The audience appears to be engrossed in the shows and one can assume, as the troupe does, that they go away thinking. This is Street Theater's goal. They hope some in the audience may stay around to talk or go to someone or somewhere for more.

Crucible

"After years of dreaming, months of discussion, and several weeks of organizational work," Crucible, a Forum for Radical Christian Studies, began offering courses in the fall of 1972. The idea of some kind of free university had been germinating for about a year. A brother who had been dreaming and working on the idea had never been able to put it together and finally went off to Toronto where he believed there was a model of what he had wanted to accomplish. After nothing had really happened, and when it became clear that the brother was withdrawing, David took over the mission. In the summer of 1972 he began assembling a steering committee, over half of whom, deliberately, were not members of CWLF. The committee eventually consisted of the two editors of Right On, a University biochemist, his wife, a previous editor of Inter-Varsity's HIS magazine, a doctoral student at the Graduate Theological Union (the present writer), a local Inter-Varsity staffer, Elizabeth, whom we met in Chapter II and who served as the Crucible secretary, Jack, the Presbyterian minister we also met in Chapter II, and two countercultural men attempting to create some kind of authentic Christian life-style for themselves. Jack Sparks was on the steering committee but attended infrequently.

The steering committee began to plot a course for Crucible, to define what Crucible's goals would be, and to assemble courses to be offered in the fall quarter. In a letter sent to friends and interested people in the area, David wrote a general statement of purpose:

Crucible will provide a meeting place for ideas and free thought within the context of radical, Biblical Christian commitment. The Forum will be conducted "free university"

style with minimal charges. In general, subject only to review by the steering committee, anyone will be able to teach anything to anybody. Attempts will be made to serve a large and heterogeneous group of students and members of the counterculture.

Later a letter was sent to all churches in the Bay Area and to others on various lists of potentially interested people. David wrote: "Our name describes the kinds of things we would like to see happen in the Bay Area. . . . It is our hope that we will be truly a crucible within which ideas, knowledge, and differing opinions may be offered and then put to the test." By the time of this letter, David and two others were serving as co-directors. After the fall quarter the two others stepped down, continuing to serve on the steering committee, and David continued as the one Director.

Crucible operated in three ways throughout the 1972-73 school year. A series of regular courses was offered in different fields and different styles. There was a charge for these ten-week courses, ranging from \$4 to \$10. Free mini-courses were offered on Saturday mornings. Once a quarter a public meeting with a guest lecturer was offered. Interested people were encouraged to become Crucible members by paying a \$10 fee and receiving a card entitling them to one-half off the fee charged for any course in Crucible for the year. This was the only significant source of funding for Crucible. All the steering committee members were asked to become Crucible members, and their money paid for the initial printing. A few contributions came in from people simply interested in supporting this new ministry. Half of the fee charged for any course went to Crucible and half to the instructor.

Anyone wishing to teach a course submitted an outline, a bibliography, and perhaps a personal statement about credentials for teaching that course. A 3/4 vote of the steering committee was necessary for approval of a course. During the year most decisions came via the common mind of the group rather than through a vote. There was generally a free attitude about courses to be offered, as long as they could be done with integrity. There was a feeling by most members of the steering committee that any mistakes should be in the direction of too much freedom. There was no one theological viewpoint, no one Christian apologetic, no one life-style, no one view of the direction Crucible ought to take. There was a rich ferment and, as the year went on, an increasing commitment to the community that the steering committee had become in its common confession of Jesus Christ as Lord and its common devotion to the developing vision of what Crucible ought to be.

Four courses were taught in the fall quarter: A History of the Radical Church, Liberation and the Christian Sister, Introduction to New Testament Greek, and Jack Sparks's "The Androclean Forum," an ongoing potluck and discussion group at his house every Thursday evening which was being listed as a Crucible course. There were mini-courses on the idea of covenant, evil and punishment in C. S. Lewis' The Great Divorce, human sexuality in Biblical perspective, war, peace, and conscientious objection, poetry, and Bach's Christmas Oratorio. The widely circulated fall brochure noted:

The steering committee of The Crucible, composed of brothers and sisters from a wide variety of backgrounds, is dedicated to bringing you new opportunities to teach, learn, and interact with others about events, issues, topics, and activities of importance

today. Everyone is invited to take advantage of our courses. Those on the steering committee and those who give courses are unified on the basis of radical, Biblical commitment to Jesus the Lord. Upon that unifying basis, The Crucible will nurture creative interaction and academic freedom among its participants.

The public meeting in the fall quarter was "Christianity in the People's Republic of China."

As the year progressed Crucible took over a neglected library in one of the rooms at CWLF's Dwight House, catalogued all the books, sought new ones, and began opening it for use at specified hours. The response was not great. Mini-courses met in the Student Union Building on campus, at Dwight House, or at First Presbyterian Church in Berkeley. Regular courses met in the instructors' homes or at Dwight House.

In the winter quarter two courses on New Testament Greek were offered, a course on Old Testament history, a course on Women's Liberation with brothers and sisters invited, and a course on mysticism and occultism. There were mini-courses on being a prophet, future talk, parables, archeology, social ethics, and alternative life-styles. The public meeting was a lecture on science and reality. The winter brochure, four pages and beautifully laid out, noted that radical Christianity meant that "we are not institution-oriented or tradition-oriented but rather are determined to uncover the roots of the Christian faith and explore the ramifications of our position in as many areas as possible." It talked about the increasing success and reputation of Crucible and added: "We are not a seminary, a Bible school, or even a typical free university. The Crucible provides truly unique opportunities to the Christian community of the Bay Area and to all people. We are here not to make

money (you can see by our tuition charges) but to really 'Serve the Lord, serve the people.'"

By the time the spring quarter arrived the brochure was calling Crucible the "fastest growing free university in Berkeley." There was an explanation: "We believe it's because people are tired of the baseless idealism and violent outworking of much education, whether establishment or countercultural. The Crucible offers courses specializing in open-eyed realism and based on the kind of radical Christian commitment that stands up to both analysis and experience. We encourage you, whatever your background, to give us a try."

The spring quarter offered by far the most courses, but several were dropped for lack of interest. Courses were taught on the Old and New Testaments, New Testament Greek, parables, women and the New Testament. Mini-courses covered Bach's St. Matthew Passion, future talk, crafts and Christian life-style, and "missionaries and/or cultural imperialists." There was no public lecture.

Crucible was a different world from CWLF. Meetings never began or ended with prayer, no one ever said thank you Jesus, shouted Praise the Lord, or even sang a song. A different language was spoken here. Yet those who attended would say they saw a steady Christian commitment, a confession of Jesus as Lord, a spirit of humility and hard work, a complete absence of the subordination of women, a growth in life together, an increasing appreciation for each other's faith and direction and efforts to develop some new way that would serve Christians in different groups and in no group. There was a grappling with what an

effective Christian apologetic would be, but little agreement. All this was happening in the steering committee.

The courses themselves varied greatly. Some could have been taught at any Bible college, some were Christian discussion groups, some were relatively academic lectures, some were completely free exchange periods, some were instructors doing their own things and people attending finding it interesting. There was nothing that held all the courses together, people realized at the end of the year. There was a variety of students from many different backgrounds. Probably very few students experienced Crucible as a total entity or a single unified vision. It had been chiefly a vehicle for offering many kinds of courses to many kinds of people—a free university. When the time came to think about the next year, the steering committee began to feel that it had been a successful experiment but that they wanted to commit themselves, if at all, to something more satisfying, more enriching, more unified. The word "forum" began to evolve toward "center" or "community" for Christian studies. The committee was looking for a vision again—probably some kind of energetic community of Christians committed, with all kinds of resources and personalities, to working out intellectually, spiritually, and in life-style, the meaning of their faith and relating it to whatever they were most interested in doing—whether poetry, carpentry, or scholarly research. As the vision took shape there was the assumption that such a group would generate sufficient excitement and interest that a wider audience would be attracted. Doing what one was most interested in doing, scratching where one itched, would be the most productive in

the long run and would have the greatest potential impact on others who might want to get in on the group.

Certainly some of these feelings came in response to the apparent reduction in interest in the Crucible spring quarter offerings. But there was a general feeling that the busy work performed during the year had been out of proportion to the audience generated. People with multiple commitments were taking stock of the year and trying to decide what they would be willing to commit themselves to for another year. In a sense, there was a shift from attracting an audience to catching hold of a vision that would be exciting and fulfilling enough to commit oneself to. Such a vision would attract its own audience in time.

If the Crucible vision or the Crucible steering committee are not elitist, they are certainly different. It might be difficult to set Crucible within the boundaries of the Jesus movement, although even defining any such boundaries would be difficult. Many in the wider Jesus movement would have difficulty relating to Crucible, if they knew at firsthand what it was like. Yet, at the Jesus People's Festival of the Son in the Santa Cruz mountains over Memorial Day 1972, there were many inquiries about Crucible. When Jack Sparks and other members of CWLF went on a nationwide two-month tour in the spring of 1973, the Crucible was more asked about than almost anything else. Perhaps it was a blank-check vision which dreamers filled in to their own satisfaction.

It is not easy to pinpoint the significant variables in the lives of those people who probably will be increasingly drawn to the direction Crucible seems to be taking. Generally they are more educated, somewhat

older, probably more personally mature, more decided about what they want to do with their lives or at least agreed on the right questions, more intellectual, more into something specific which gives them satisfaction and to which they devote considerable thought and energy. But there are conspicuous exceptions. There are people in CWLF who generally fit this description but who probably will never become involved in Crucible. In some cases, that is because of other involvements which may serve the same function for them as Crucible does for others. Street Theater would be an example. Another important variable would be whether one finds one's chief reality on the streets—Crucible doesn't; or in culture or the arts or intellectual endeavors—Crucible does.

The idea that one's thing becomes one's ministry is scarcely unique to Crucible. It is obvious in Street Theater and in Right On. It is obvious for those committed to street witnessing or studying the occult or working on problems of sexual identity or staying involved with political radicals. It is also true for those who choose the Ranch, not as an escape from a too heavy Berkeley scene but because they like to be there. One Crucible steering committee member warned against a "fundamentalist masochism," which assumes that your "thing" must not be God-pleasing if you are enjoying it.

Crucible's decision to stop searching for an audience and begin looking for a style of life is different only in that Crucible deliberately and openly asked itself all these questions and arrived at certain answers. Jesus Freaks on rural communes in Northern California have probably traveled similar paths, perhaps without as much introspection

and with considerably more language about the will of God, God's call, God moving them to certain ministries, God directing, etc. Susan moved from her tutoring ministry ("It won't continue next school year if I have to lead it") to the emerging "Genesis Institute," considered below, because the latter promised to do more for her than the former—or because the Lord could do more with her unique personality and talents in the latter than in the former. To say that the Lord is leading or calling or directing is one way of viewing the process. There are others.

Yet there are always present "rumors of angels" in the form of impulses, goals, visions, commitments which are more difficult to explain in terms of self-interest or background variables. There are concerns being expressed in Crucible for stretching the vision, or having it stretched, for the larger Christian witness God may be calling people to, for self-sacrifice. The function of a group for the individual participant is not the whole story.

Whether Crucible will experience any of the dramatic "successes" of the Jesus movement is difficult to predict. The people presently devoted to Crucible, especially the steering committee, are probably too diverse a group with too many interests and too much introspection to troop off after any charismatic leader with a new vision. These people spend too much time analyzing the will of the Lord amidst the ambiguity of life to be taken captive by anyone with a tickle in his ear and a direct line to God. Or hasn't he come along yet?

These people may also be wary of institutions. Partly, this is because they have left institutions to devote themselves to the life-style

they are now working on. To this working and sharing together in freedom they can devote themselves joyfully and with great energy. If a new institution were to arise, on the other hand, some on the steering committee would have to see it expressing certain theological or other ideas and shapes before they could live within it. Perhaps enthusiasm and energies among such groups flourish as long as a shape does not emerge specific enough to turn anybody off. That would seem to be part of the reason for the fragmentation on the Left and among the counterculture and communal enthusiasts generally. It is why some "realists" call for coalitions. The discovery of some that coalitions can thrive and be appealing as well when the organic cement of a common community of people with centered lives is added may be a discovery the Crucible also seems to be making. Mind-sets and histories and principles seem less real then than the experienced reality of real brothers and sisters committing themselves to a vision and to each other, unafraid to be fully themselves in the process.

Rising Son Ranch

In 1971 Pat, one of the three early missionaries to Berkeley, and Weldon, a friend of CWLF who had been praying about a Jesus movement within the counterculture, began discussing the need for a place "where you can get kids off the streets, out into the woods, where they can be free from distractions enough to really set their minds on the Lord during their early days as Christians." They saw the need for an isolated place which could be purchased cheaply and a brother or a

couple who would be the "parents" for such a family. They wanted someone centered around a personal relationship to Christ, firm but gentle, full of concern for people, not on a power trip, sympathetic to individual differences, and committed to nourishing a whole family along. Weldon decided there was nobody like that. Pat decided that was a good description of Weldon. Weldon protested, then prayed, then ended up taking his wife and two children to an abandoned chicken ranch near Garberville in Northern California which he and Pat were able to purchase cheaply. Another couple also joined them.

At first Weldon and his family moved into a comfortable house near the ranch, from where they hoped to minister to the people who would come to live at the ranch. The owner of that house soon forced them to leave when more and more hippies began to show up from the ranch. Weldon and his wife were conservative, middle-class people. The primitive ranch looked like a horror. In the dead of winter with constant rain and snow, they told God that if a clear day came the day they had to leave their present house they would move to the ranch. It did. Fifteen trips in a small pickup to a small dirty house. Most of their accumulated belongings were stored in an old garage with a dirt floor. The whole family slept in one room, the children on mattresses on the floor and two dogs also on the floor. Another couple slept in another room of the house. They cried often and long. They tried to hand over all their things, not to mention their lives, to the Lord. Within two weeks nearby ranchers shot their two dogs. They felt everything from the past was being torn away from them. Meanwhile they

were trying to get the water system to work and the wiring to be safe.

There were as many problems with the locals as there were with those who came to stay at the ranch in the first few months. Ranchers and townspeople were suspicious. When Weldon let his hair grow and wore his ranch clothes everywhere, people became resentful. He spoke at the high school graduation over the objections of many, and talked about Jesus. The Rising Son Ranch sign was torn down several times and run over, presumably by people who hated hippies.

Meanwhile, a small community was coming into being—people crashing from the highway, people wandering in from nearby communes, people up from Berkeley. One of the chief purposes of the Ranch has been to implant a Christian witness in the middle of the rural hippie commune country—Humboldt County of Northern California. There were heavy drug scenes and burned-out radicals from Berkeley and occasional violence and fires started accidentally by stoned ecology freaks. The two couples and the small community which developed more or less around them felt they were being used by God as a kind of witness. People who stopped by thought they saw something different, some invisible factor which made this commune more together than others they had visited or been a part of. Some stayed to find out what it was. The missing factor was Christ, these brothers and sisters told them.

There were serious water shortages the first summer. As the number of people grew they knew they would need more buildings and a work area. When the community joined in prayer for lumber Weldon got a phone call from a friend in Los Gatos who asked if they needed

lumber. Amidst much rejoicing, astonishment, and praising the Lord, Weldon related her offer of \$800 to the whole community. Eventually there was the house where the couples who were house parents for the Ranch lived, an old two-story chicken house with bunks for fifteen men upstairs and a shop downstairs, another house with living quarters for women upstairs and the communal kitchen and dining area downstairs, an old trailer, and a garage.

From 1972 to 1973 there were three couples serving as house parents and from five to ten brothers and sisters living on the Ranch with them. (Weldon and his family had moved back to the city.) There was an insistence that all rise at about the same time every morning, that all meals be eaten together, and that every morning be devoted to the work that needed to be done. Lack of water, poor soil, and steep terrain made any kind of farming impossible, and the small garden was not enough to keep more than one person busy. Most of the financial support for the Ranch came through support money sent to Billy, a CWLF elder and the new leader on the Ranch. He had many Christian friends in Texas who supported this ministry. Some who stayed at the Ranch could contribute a few dollars a month, some a little more, and some nothing. There were Bible studies three nights a week, and all were expected to participate.

Occasionally there were "rice Christians" who went through the motions they considered necessary to acquire a place to stay and food. Discipline was present to the extent necessary to get people to work on the tasks assigned, to get up together, and to eat together. A few were

asked to leave—because their life-style or beliefs were deemed a threat to other young Christians on the Ranch. No one was asked to leave simply because he had not yet accepted the Lord. Usually all three couples had to agree before someone was asked to leave. This probably resulted in some people staying too long and exercising an influence detrimental to the community.

The continually changing community took a heavy toll on the couples who guided the Ranch ministry. Besides implanting a Christian witness in the heart of the commune country, the Ranch ministry also existed to get people who needed it away from the Berkeley scene, to allow people to work in nature and with their hands, and to let people grow into and experience a Christian family. The very circumstances guaranteed that all of these goals would rarely be furthered simultaneously. One brother who in the summer of 1973 returned to Berkeley remarked: "There's a great strain on the staff members, the couples. Often there is a need for a continual close relationship with a group of total strangers. The effectiveness of the Christian family varies with who is living at the Ranch. There were times when there were only three Christians and perhaps several who were militantly non-Christian. Anyone who came at that time would not have been overwhelmed by a sense of Christian family. Yet we wanted to stay as open as possible to people coming in off the road or referred to us by other communes."

For the stability of the Ranch and the nourishment and strength that a Christian community needed from each other, it was felt that three couples at the Ranch were ideal. They could strengthen one another

and better exercise a Christian influence on the affairs of the whole Ranch community. The brother quoted above had been asked, with his wife, in the summer of 1972 to go up to the Ranch for a year, to lend moral support to the people already there. He was happy to get away from Berkeley for awhile and thought he would have much time for reading and writing. That did not happen. Yet he lists several personal benefits to him for his year on the Ranch staff. "I learned to relate to kids in Christian love. I received a real ongoing education as a Christian, especially through the strains put on me. I also expanded my interest in crafts and art to leather work. I learned I'm not called to a pastoral ministry and I had wondered about that. Now I know. Mostly my year allowed me to clear my head and get more settled on the direction my life in the Lord is taking." He feels that the latter may be the chief function of the Ranch ministry—for staff and anyone else who stays long enough.

The Ranch's ministry to the surrounding area is informal and casual. They do very little visiting or calling around, but they are always meeting people in town and they always welcome all who drop by. The fairly dramatic influx of visitors who came to stay from other communes early in the Ranch's history is no longer happening. Yet there are people who stop by to work on their cars with the tools the Ranch readily allows them to use. They see their ministry in terms of being good neighbors and being together as a Christian community in ways that make all visitors wonder and want to ask why. People nearby also know that in cases of need they can count on the Ranch. At Christmas time

the members of Rising Son Ranch made many candles and took them around as presents to people on communes in the area. Small numbers of Christians have arisen around the area and have begun Bible studies, discussion groups, and witnesses of various kinds. The staff at Rising Son has been committed to encouraging such people to stay where they are and carry on their own witness. There were times, especially in the beginning, when such young Christians insisted it would be impossible to stay where they were and continue in their Christian life.

Most of the "success stories" the Ranch has had have happened with people who have stayed longer than a few weeks. Of course, there were brothers and sisters who came for an evening and accepted Christ. Sometimes they moved on immediately and no one knows where they are now. "Probably the people who stayed longer were committed to finding an answer to their search in life. That's very important for anyone potentially coming to the Lord. Others were still into just wandering around." Because of the transiency, the whole community on the Ranch is rarely really together and strong. But often a majority of those staying have a strong and integrated community. The question is whether those staying on the fringe looking in will become interested enough to ask for more, including asking for a personal relationship with the Father, before they decide to move on. There are some who leave before the staff thinks anything has happened to them and say later that the Ranch changed their lives.

By 1973 there were two couples at the Ranch. The one couple had been very effective in campus ministry in Berkeley and there is some

encouragement for them to return. The future of the Ranch in the summer of 1973 was quite uncertain. There was talk of closing it, selling it, and investing the money in some other kind of Christian ministry, perhaps another ranch elsewhere. The number of people on the Ranch was much smaller than in the early days. Before the end of the year the Ranch was sold and its ministry ended.

The Rising Son Ranch had been a Christian presence in commune country and a Christian family to all kinds of people, some of whom came to scoff and remained to pray. Like many other CWLF ministries it reflected the energy and style of "do it," when some need is felt and prayed over and some strategy is deemed appropriate. As other ministries came to be more important and when the Ranch in its present location seemed to have served its purpose, CWLF moved elsewhere. They believe they have left behind in Humboldt County a few Christians committed to carrying on that kind of ministry and many Christians, God knows where, who came to Christ or grew in Christ while they stayed at the Ranch.

Christian Houses

CWLF's first Christian House just happened. Jack and his family and Pat and his wife were living together in a large house near campus. They held their Monday evening Bible studies there and often fed new brothers and sisters or crashers. Jack became convinced that this house would have to become a home for some of the people who were coming into the Father's Family. Pat did not agree, but consented. He and his wife moved into a smaller house nearby.

Within a few weeks people began to come and stay. Jack and his wife, Esther, became house parents to a crowded and difficult house. Most of the people were those who had just discovered Jesus, people who needed a place to stay for awhile, people who required a refuge from the drug scene, people who needed to experience a Christian family. Some were just crashers. Many were too lazy or spaced out or disorganized or unthoughtful to do anything but eat, and Esther complained of doing all the work. Jack and Esther had no experience in organizing and supervising a large household of relative strangers. Jack called a house meeting, talked about the problem. The house decided a list of jobs needing to be done should be posted but refused to get any more structured than that. A few worked hard, many worked half-heartedly, some worked not at all.

Jack has written about one of the early members of the household, Wes, who had been around the hip and drug scene for a long time.

Heavy use of acid had really messed up his mind. Naturally strong-minded and stubborn, he found it hard to submit himself to God or to fellow humans for guidance or direction. So Wes would get it into his head that since he had the Holy Spirit in him, all he had to do was listen to the voice within—and nobody should be giving him instructions. Like the time he read a book on fasting and decided he should go on a forty-day fast.

After three days of no food, Wes was so irritable he couldn't get along with anybody. Pat tentatively suggested that he might have fasted long enough for a first time and Wes slammed out of the house shouting that nobody less than God had any right to stop him. Nobody saw him for about ten days. When he reappeared, he had a faraway look in his eyes and talked vaguely of visions and spiritual experiences far beyond the understanding of the rest of the household. He was hard to live with.

Weird spiritual ideas flowed from his lips as he talked of his newfound confidence gained by fasting. When Jack gently rebuked him for one impossible claim, Wes turned on him angrily, "Who are you to tell me? Have you ever fasted for fifteen days?" "No." "Then don't talk to me about spiritual understanding." That took awhile to work out.

Wes and other new family members tended to bring their street friends home to dinner, or to stay a few days. There were times when Esther prepared food for twelve and found thirty debating Bible students in her dining room. Often the bizarre guests were difficult for Jack and Esther to understand or even converse with. There was often feuding within the household and constant frustrations and disappointments for Jack and Esther. The role and responsibility of a house member was never really resolved in that first year. Occasionally someone left in wild anger and never returned. Sometimes Jack and Pat would insist that someone leave.

Fortunately there were also strong young Christians who came to live there, some by Jack and Pat's invitation. They helped with the street and house ministry. Jack tried to call the entire household to prayer and Bible study every morning, and there were long spiritual discussions after nearly every evening meal.

Before a year was out, however, the house was broken up. A neighbor threatened the house with a civil suit, decrying the overpopulation of the house, the large numbers of people coming for Monday night meetings, and the lowering of his property value. Later the CWLF community saw that as an act of God "to do some realignment. There were more people in the house who needed spiritual help than could be looked after adequately and Jack in particular was caught in a whirl from which he didn't know how to extricate himself." After much prayer the community decided to move rather than fight in court. "God had a better plan—not one house but three." Jack and Esther went temporarily to a

smaller house with their children, taking two others with them. A woman gave her equity in a house and some of the brothers went there to found Agape House. At the same time a group of the brothers and sisters rented a duplex, men on one side and women on the other, and called it "House of Pergamos." This Jack later saw as a "major step in sinking the roots of the fellowship into the Berkeley scene and gaining stability. The so-called 'Christian House' concept has its problems—largely in lack of stability and maturity of leadership. Moreover, it should not be considered as a permanent home for any given person. But in Berkeley these homes have served and still serve as artificial Christian families to give the new believer a compatible context in which to grow."

The House ministries continued to grow. Some houses came apart and new ones started up. Agape House flourished, even amidst a serious fire caused by carelessness and lack of jobs for most of its residents. Then when there was no more leadership, the House passed out of CWLF hands.

A set of apartments came to be known as God's Love. In the same building, located in a black ghetto, were all the CWLF offices. When steps to an attic were found, even more crashers could be accommodated at God's Love. As many as thirty sometimes stayed there. The House was often visited by winos from the area, by hard-core heroin addicts from its "drugstore" parking lot, once by a brother who answered "I'm here" to an impassioned "Dear Lord Jesus, come quickly" prayer from another brother. Late one evening a strange man sat in the House library and

said, after some prolonged conversation, "I and the Father are one." The elder in charge of the House of God's Love said, "In the name of Jesus, leave." He did. The House served dinner to all comers every Friday evening and followed with Bible study and discussion. This is a pattern that very many evangelical groups in Berkeley have followed. (University Lutheran chapel in Berkeley has for some time served evening meals, but with no Bible study and directed discussion following. An evening with both courses may be possible to bring off only by a family or household in a House setting.)

The Houses were constantly dealing with people whose entire pasts made it nearly impossible for them to come to terms with the authority the Houses thought necessary. There were also syncretists who perplexed the Houses—people who talked about their relationship to the Father and also about all the other spiritual trips they were into. People who could not imagine a new life that would not include heavy drug use. There were defeats and spectacular, joyous successes. "Brothers and sisters who struggled and hassled and grew for months or a year and eventually moved on, new people, eager to take a place in the Father's world, often back in their own homes or hometowns, strong in the Father's Family and fresh for his tasks."

Mature leadership was probably the most important predictor of House success. Jack suggested that the good House leader must know and be sympathetic to the phases that many young Christians go through. He should also not expect to solve a House's problems or get it together by withdrawal, calling the House members away from outside contacts and

ministries until they are functioning smoothly as a House. That day will never come. Jack has written about three criteria for any group of believers to meet, but especially a House. They are truisms, but often forgotten. (1) The members must commit themselves to a close personal relationship with the Lord. This is something to work on, to grow into more and more. (2) All need to see themselves as a group tied together by God's love and therefore committed to caring for one another. (3) They must see a call to bring God's life to a crippled world around them.

In the summer of 1973 Dwight House had been CWLF's main house for over two years. In its basement were CWLF and Right On offices. In its living room all family meetings were held. Upstairs lived ten to twelve brothers and sisters from CWLF, most often people who were in staff positions, but usually including a few who were very young in their Christian life or even not yet committed to Christ.

A brother who has lived in and had charge of Dwight House for eighteen months says about Christian Houses: "Ideally, a Christian House is a temporary group housing for Christians young in the faith and single to be able to get together and encourage one another in the faith. A House needs a leader who is a good pastor-servant. There must be a willingness of house members to submit themselves to the Lord and to one another."

Dwight House functions with minimal rules. No drugs are allowed. There is smoking only in one's own room and with the consent of room-mates. All are expected to share in the responsibility of the housework,

but there are no set times and few specifically assigned responsibilities. The brother in charge of the House happens to do most of the cooking, but this is by no means the rule. It is normally expected that House members will be committed to one area of CWLF ministry. House meetings are held twice a month. In the past there was a CWLF elder, Larry, who had overall responsibility for the House.

Dwight House is very unstructured and its members have much more freedom than is typical of Jesus Houses elsewhere. Not only are there no rigid work schedules, but there is also no set devotional or worship time. Many times when CWLF's family meeting is going on in Dwight House's living room, several of the very members of the House will not be in attendance. Occasionally there are attempts to get the House together for morning Bible study or prayer, but these attempts have been both irregular and not welcomed by all. One of the reasons for this is the activities of the House members. They may be occupied away from the House at different times. There is also no rule that all House members eat together, which is a rule both of CWLF's Ranch and of most Jesus Houses. No common lunch is served, but there is a common evening meal. Yet, if for reasons of diet, withdrawal, or personal preference, some in the House do not wish to eat the evening meal in common, they are allowed not to do so. In the summer of 1973, for example, three sisters in the House were not eating any meals in common with the rest of the House. Board was \$25 a month and room \$50 a month.

The brother in charge says he exercises little overt authority. He usually "just asks people. I'd rather treat people as adults and

equals." If things come to it, however, the brother's word is law, even to the point of eviction. He says if he had it do so over again he is not sure he would have a co-ed house. "All the hassles women go through are just too much for a brother to deal with. That's why it's best if a Christian couple, mature in the Lord, can be in charge of a Christian House." He also believes that the young Christians in the House, precisely because the House is a ministry directed to the counterculture, should be encouraged to work for their support.

Perhaps the most significant change in CWLF's Houses in four years is that the Houses in no way "advertise as a crashpad." Formerly they did, and at least for the first two years of CWLF's history, crashing was not uncommon. Indeed, a ministry to crashers was one of the chief ministries of the Houses. Now most people in the Houses are already Christians, and many are simply people on the staff of CWLF. The Houses have almost become homes specifically for the staff. If a crasher comes to Dwight House, he is admitted only if one or more members of the House take specific responsibility for him and invite him in. The person who takes responsibility for the crasher is expected to see that he gets fed, that he has a place to sleep, and that he is not neglected spiritually or conversationally. Theoretically, this is an ideal setup and fosters real commitment to crashers. Practically, it means there are far fewer crashers than in the "old days." House members feel they are just too busy to carry on a ministry to crashers. A few are that busy. A few others are too immature and not together enough themselves for such a ministry. Still others are simply too lazy

or unconcerned. The change in House policy and attitude toward crashers undoubtedly is a reflection of the general disconnection with the streets that is becoming increasingly characteristic of CWLF. The coalition or team of creative ministries is much more predominant an identity than a family into which young people off the streets can grow into mature Christianity. Partly this change in the Houses has come about from a realistic look at the many failures of the early Houses. Already after the first year Jack Sparks realized that he had taken on more than he could handle. The Houses were full of people, but only inadequate attention was being given to their spiritual needs and Christian growth. The emphasis in the Houses began to shift from wide recruitment and conversion to more careful and pointed attention to Christian nurture and growth. It is possible to talk about the institutionalization of the Christian Houses, or at least their evolution from free and reckless and spontaneous ministries to all comers toward homes for mostly CWLF staff people. Yet the latter is more true of Dwight House than other Houses in CWLF. There have been far fewer staff members, as such, at the other Houses and there has been among them a continued ministry to young Christians, often young people with real problems getting themselves together in the Lord.

Richmond House, in the city of Richmond a few miles north of Berkeley, is probably the most different from Dwight House. It has been all male, much more disciplined, much more "thank you Jesus" and has had a far greater sense of close community and real brotherhood. It is probably more like the Jesus Houses to be found generally in the Jesus

movement than any other House in CWLF, though it too might appear relatively unstructured compared to many Houses in the Jesus movement. There is a brother in charge of the House and a CWLF elder who has given considerable time to the development and strengthening of the House. It is often considered the most unified House, with the greatest sense of a common family of brothers helping each other grow and caring about one another.

The life of CWLF's Houses is the life described in Chapter IV. There are people so busy they can scarcely find a moment to themselves. There are people who lounge around most of the day, walk down to Telegraph Avenue, visit a few brothers or sisters, think about some things they ought to be doing, and putter around with their little preoccupations. A sister at Dwight House needs counseling badly, is fighting a court action in Michigan so that her five-year-old son can join her, is depressed and sometimes suicidal, and is extremely ambivalent toward the one sister in the House who has spent endless time trying to relate to her. She calls her her deepest friend and has attacked her several times, knocking her down, beating on her, and threatening her. The brother in charge of Dwight House pleads with God and the community for help or advice. Should he evict her? How much longer can they keep her? Will they be able to persuade her to get professional counseling? Are they doing her any good? Is she coming to the Lord?

An intern whom CWLF invited to come to Berkeley to help him get his personality together is, for some reason, given charge of a House. The House members minister to him a good deal while he spends much time

lamenting their lack of discipline and responsibility. When the year is over, some people think the brother has grown up a little and may even understand and love himself and his wife a little more.

Most important for all the Houses is that individual people learn a caring responsibility for other people and experience being cared for. They learn what a reasonably healthy family can be. They begin overcoming fear and loneliness. They experience love and joy and genuine friendship. They learn alternatives not only to drugs and heavy sex, but to competition and jealousy and power trips. They find honesty, acceptance, human warmth. They expend themselves caring for and about brothers and sisters—people who may drain them, hang on them, depend on them, frustrate them. They learn to listen to one another. For many who have led bizarre and incredibly messed-up lives, all this IS a full-time occupation. What, after all, are a few months or even a year or more if one's whole life is finally getting together, if one's self is finally getting centered, if a new future is being worked out or prepared for, if the past is finally atoned for, or worked through, or forgotten, or overcome? In the best cases, new people are coming out of the Christian Houses. One could call them rehabilitated people or resocialized people. One could speak of the Houses as resocialization stations, where people who were never successfully socialized into a real family are now experiencing it or people whose secondary socialization with schools and peers has been a disaster are now finding a new adolescence being offered and created for them and a new preparation for mature responsibility made possible. Erling Jorstad has written about

some of the Jesus Houses and the life in them:

Having control over their own world and their own future, they find the inner resources to cope with their personal problems. Their own sense of self-esteem grows in communal living as each member encourages the others to find love and joy and to express it in worship and witness.

To outsiders this kind of living might sound dull and unchallenging—no steady employment, no clear future plans, no familiar amusements, nothing that seems "normal." But to the participants the experience opens up new opportunities for personal growth. Wanting so hard to believe in something which would fill their lives with direction and happiness, they find that by "grooving on Jesus" they are sharing the most important thing in their lives with others who had the same hang-ups and the same joy in knowing they have been saved. By a communal life which continually shows them that they have been born again and are truly saved from drugs, alcohol, fear of failure or whatever, the Jesus converts celebrate their new lives. They really believe the Bible when it says, "If any one is in Christ, he is a new creation."¹⁰

From the Houses many move on to their own apartments, to marriage, to ministries elsewhere, perhaps back to their own hometowns or families. No one in leadership sees the Houses as permanent solutions for any brothers and sisters. There have been no attempts in CWLF to establish the Houses as more or less permanent communes or "intentional communities." Tony and Susan Alamo's definition of their Los Angeles Christian Foundation's communes as places "for those willing to lead the true Christian life" is much too restrictive and rigid an idea of what the Christian life ought to be for anyone in CWLF. There may be some attempts in the wider Jesus movement, however, to establish communes as a more than temporary place for newly developing Christian communities to stay and live. Such efforts will best happen where the sense of ministry is one of a total family ministering to each other and to its neighborhood or geographical area. This is true, for example, of the many Jesus

ranches, some of which, such as Lighthouse Ranch in Eureka, California, are quite large, having up to two hundred members. Such movements have, perhaps by inclination and certainly by necessity, much more discipline than CWLF has ever been comfortable with.

Benjamin Zablocki¹¹ has written about the intense individualism and even insistence on anarchic communal arrangements which characterize many of the hippie, drug, or countercultural communes. They have remarkably short lives and are as strong as the members with the weakest commitments. People who are not "into winter" do not worry about cutting wood! After reading Zablocki's observations, it is easy to understand the frequent talk among Jesus People of the necessity of "submitting" in Christian Houses and communes. One has to say that in many cases this means submitting to each other, not to some authoritarian leader, though there are evidences of the latter, too.

Whatever may have been the later evolution of CWLF's Houses, they originally happened, in Jack Sparks's words, "because we had to show that what we were talking about, a Forever Family, could really happen in Berkeley. We had to be one." While the Houses continue to serve necessary and crucial functions, it is probably true that CWLF can no longer be characterized, if it ever was, as a truly radical attempt at community. It is remarkably successful as a coalition which has fostered many creative ministries. The attempt to create a communal radical Christian family, if it was ever a goal, is largely abandoned, though the goal of a radical Christian presence in Berkeley is stronger than ever, especially if that presence means a coalition of talented

and creative evangelical Christians. There are some who keep the former idea alive. There may be some in Crucible who dream of such a community. There are some who want to act out such a presence at the block or neighborhood level, if not at a communal family level. The Oneida-like goal of "having a worldwide impact on the youth scene through the influence of this place" has shifted from radical community to radical ministries. One might argue, however, that the commitment or even dream of an intentional community, a communal family, was never that overt or strong. The early Christian House in Berkeley, after all, just happened—even if, in Jack Sparks's view, it happened inevitably. One could also suggest that the people most influential in CWLF's evolution and in its first arrival were more committed to direct outreach and aggressive presence and channeled their energies more in that direction than into an intentional community. In Bryan Wilson's terms, they were much more conversionist than introversionist.¹²

The Interns

During the 1972-73 school year CWLF had two full-time interns. One was on leave from his Seminary for a year and the other was a student at Oakland's California College of Arts and Crafts. The seminarian had come in an effort to find his head and work out his personal problems. The Seminary was going to refuse to let him return for his final year, and then worked out this arrangement with CWLF. In the summer of 1973 he left Berkeley and returned for his final year at the Seminary. While in Berkeley he was in charge of one of CWLF's Christian Houses and did

some teaching. It is doubtful that Berkeley was the place to come to work out personal problems. The other intern was working out his alternative service as a Conscientious Objector through CWLF's ministries.

In the summer of 1973 CWLF welcomed five men and four women interns. They were all from colleges or seminaries. Some will likely return to CWLF full-time after they return for their last year(s) of school, and a couple will be staying for the coming academic year. All of them either heard of CWLF and wrote to make arrangements to come as interns or were known by Jack and were invited to come. Each is responsible for his own support while in Berkeley. All live at the Grove Street House, a house which CWLF has rented with a lease-option for one year. The only criterion Jack used in deciding whether someone should come was "whether they could operate in our free and easy environment. If someone needed a lot of supervision, then we would not want them to come. We give them little assignments and I try to check in at the intern house every day or so, but mostly we just show them around, let them see what the situation is, and decide what they would like to be doing. We give them as much freedom as possible."

It is questionable whether the intern program is as valuable as it might be. The tremendous freedom given may be appropriate to very self-actualizing individuals who come to Berkeley with a firm idea of what they want to accomplish. For some others, the year or summer may be spent with little direction, much wasted time, and not a lot accomplished. Yet the excitement of Berkeley and the experience of being in and around CWLF is enough for many. They learn much, even if sometimes

they do not give much, and presumably take back stronger commitments and more developed ideas about what they would like to do with their lives as Christians. The "free and easy environment" of CWLF and the willingness to let all comers be on their own and move in whatever directions they find God leading them have been hallmarks of CWLF in the past and presumably that style will not be changing.

From Tutoring to Sex Institute

A good example of the ad hoc nature of CWLF ministries, the flexibility and freedom allowed CWLF staffers, and the natural movement toward ministries where one is most existentially involved, is Susan's development of the tutoring ministry in the 1972-73 school year, and her movement in the summer of 1973 toward a new ministry the next year.

Susan had prayed about some kind of ministry to Berkeley High School students for months and kept feeling that the Lord had laid this concern on her heart. Although CWLF had never before worked with high school students specifically and generally did not consider that age group its primary audience, she was always encouraged. "We will pray for you and with you. We'll back you. Let's see where the Lord leads you. Keep at it." Susan met with the principal and several teachers of Berkeley High School, discussed her plan, and was welcomed to the campus. She put up posters all over town asking for volunteers for such a ministry. Over half of those involved in the tutoring program were not connected at all with CWLF. There was no overt evangelism when they were with the students, only the attempt to love them, listen to them,

care about them, and help them develop their reading or math skills. The tutoring ministers met weekly to discuss their ministry and to pray for the kids involved. Most found the ministry very rewarding. About halfway through the year Susan expressed some regret that the students she had hoped to reach were not being reached. She had come out of a radical scene, had been a rebellious and intelligent student, had experimented with drugs and sex, and hoped that the Lord would use her with precisely these kinds of students. But such students did not want or did not need tutoring. The avant-garde of the high school was not at all being reached by the tutoring program, but those who were simply slow were.

Whether the tutoring program would continue in 1973-74 would depend on God and someone else, Susan said. She moved to a new ministry. At the January New Year's celebration Susan startled a CWLF retreat by talking about problems of sexual identity she was having as a Christian. Immediately there was a response from not a few brothers and sisters who had up until then been afraid to talk about such things. A weekly meeting began at Jerry's house and he and Susan became the leaders of this group. Mostly it was a sharing group where people who came to trust one another tried to talk about sexual problems they were having as Christians. Some who attended were not Christians. A solid nucleus of people committed to this ongoing discussion (and therapy of a sort) developed and they began to reach other people struggling with such problems.

Jerry believed he had already committed himself, almost as a life's work, to studying, writing, and working on such problems, and

Susan became increasingly interested in a ministry in that direction. In the early summer of 1973 they talked of beginning a "Sex Institute," although they and everyone else were amused at such a name. Eventually, they agreed on the name "Genesis: Institute of Continuing Creation." The group which had begun meeting on Sundays had extended to a Wednesday meeting as well, "with more teaching kinds of things." They decided to give this ministry a name so that "people would have something to hang onto."

The goals of this new ministry were the dissemination of an initial booklet by Jerry, developing other literature, being present in the gay scene, various activities such as weekend retreats, etc. They dreamed of publishing "maybe a quarterly" eventually. Jerry said, "Our institute, it's really not that formal yet, will be a place for people to come and get their hang-ups out in the open. It's the first time such a thing is happening. The development of a Christian view of sex in an atmosphere of complete openness and honesty with no fear and condemnation. My hope is that also couples will come. The information they could give would be of much help. A lot of people just don't know much. We're interested not in just sex per se, but in total human beings. We want to emphasize that when people come, they come as needy persons not as great spiritual leaders or sexperts. We have a sort of core group, not really formalized. But we have a feeling for where we've come from and what our aims are." There are about a dozen in that core group.

At a Berkeley picnic which helped to inaugurate Gay Consciousness Week, brothers and sisters from "Genesis" were on the scene, talking with people and passing out a pamphlet which read: "gay? straight? confused? SEX AND THE SPIRIT. Sunday at 7:00 we are meeting together to discuss our sexuality in an atmosphere of openness and honesty. We are discovering how our sexuality relates to our spirituality and how love can transform our sexual lives. Come and be with us." The Dwight House address was given and phone numbers for four members of the group, two in the East Bay, one in San Francisco, and one in Palo Alto.

For several months the group experienced a strong response, both among Christians and among those who might describe themselves as searching. While they could never be sure of where their audience was at or whether they were Christians at all, the meeting was overtly Christian, not only with some Christian teaching but with much prayer. Yet there was at the same time complete acceptance of people; no trips, legalistic or otherwise, were laid on anyone, and there was a sense of a common search for answers and meaningful sexual identity. Of course, outsiders could come into the meeting with the intent to come down heavy on one expression or another, to give the "answer" to sexual problems they had found. If such answers or trips seemed unchristian, the core group or any other Christians might pray harder, hang in there, and gently counter with what they were experiencing or what tentative conclusions they had come to. The total atmosphere was one that would be very unlikely to happen among most evangelical Christians. And the amount of prayer that

went on and the overt spirituality of the meeting would be very unlikely to be present among liberal Christians (or campus ministry type discussion groups) sponsoring such a discussion with that kind of audience. It is especially amazing to Jerry and Susan that things went as well as they did. They often talked about how potentially heavy the meeting was, about the presence of "some pretty alien spirits" at such meetings, and how hard they were praying and how much they needed the prayers of all in the group. Many in CWLF would be unable to maintain the tone that Jerry and Susan and the others set for such meetings. It would be impossible for them not to come down hard on some of the people present and some of the things they said.

Susan felt the Lord had called her to this and qualified her by her own experiences and struggles to engage in such a ministry. Jerry found a group outlet for the very things he was most interested in studying and writing about. Some of the brothers and sisters in CWLF were getting a chance to express their problems and feelings in a nonthreatening and decidedly Christian environment. Some other people, including many in the gay community, were discovering a Christian ministry which seemed to be relating directly to them in an effective, caring, and nonjudgmental way. The evolution of the "Genesis" ministry was a good indication of the creativity and resiliency of CWLF in its fifth year.

Ad Hoc Ministries

The Grand Tour

In the spring of 1973 eight brothers and sisters from CWLF undertook a two-month nationwide tour of selected colleges, universities, and seminaries. In a letter to friends of CWLF asking for prayers and contributions, Jack Sparks wrote: "The Lord has impressed upon us the fact that we have something to offer brothers and sisters in other places across the country as they seek to bring His life to those around them." Through this special tour, CWLF would be "looking for mature, qualified Christians to join with us in our work here," hoped to be "of direct assistance to Christians in places where we go," and expected to be meeting and witnessing to "those whom the Holy Spirit will be drawing into the Father's Family." In each place they spent a day interacting with students, sometimes giving formal presentations in classrooms and chapel services, occasionally speaking on radio, and always seeking out creative ministries they were hearing about. Two brothers went along as a sound and film crew in order later to put together a documentary of the trip. Among the cities they visited were Los Angeles, Dallas, Memphis, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, New York, Princeton, New Haven, Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Madison, St. Louis, and Denver. They traveled in a large van lent them by Pat, one of the early founders of CWLF.

When the group returned they devoted one Monday Night Family Meeting to a report on their trip. They also showed slides, almost all of which were of them rather than of the ministries or places they

visited or the people they talked to. All expressed great joy at being back in Berkeley. They said they did not realize how much they loved the brothers and sisters here and how comfortable they had become in this situation. Several suggested that people on the road were too straight, stared at them, had trouble accepting them, considered them strange. They also seemed to take almost a delight in how bizarre they were feeling themselves to be and the difficulties people had in relating to people in strange dress, people who were REAL countercultural types. This a rather unattractive characteristic not usually visible among CWLF people. Perhaps it has always been beneath the surface; perhaps the trip brought it out. There seemed, as the brothers and sisters reported on their trip, almost a satisfaction that they had shocked so many people. If they had adapted to the Berkeley scene for their ministry in Berkeley, they seemed uninterested in adapting to any other scene. There was almost a self-righteousness which has rarely been visible in CWLF—suggesting that authentic Christianity will be expressed through countercultural life-style and even clothing, and no other. When pressed on this issue by a few people who had listened to their report, they vaguely retreated from this position. Yet Jack Sparks, especially, sounded more anti-intellectual than he has ever sounded—suggesting that the whole academic scene is just "dust." There was quiet ridicule of people, Christians, on straight trips and people whose problems or responsibilities made it impossible to relate to CWLF's style of ministry. Possibly the flush of the trip, the joy in returning to comfortable ground, the self-reassurance that one's own ministry is worth doing had something to

do with the tone of that evening. It is a tone rarely observed among CWLF people.

One brother reported: "We discovered that the Berkeley view of things is not distorted. The East and the occult are prevalent everywhere. That kind of thinking has virtually taken over the youth scene. We saw that Christians in general, but especially in colleges and seminaries, are isolated from reality. They were not taking the counterculture seriously and were impatient to get back to normal. Yet we saw some signs and evidences of stirrings. People looking for ways to break out of a mold, looking for ministries other than sitting around congratulating themselves for being saved. Even Moody has changed. The new president there said Moody should be involved in the community where they find themselves."

Susan talked about a one-man ministry in a black ghetto of Philadelphia that had inspired the whole group. The brother had given up everything, his education, his "chances," to live in a storefront, giving himself and what little money he had to the people of the community. He fed them with peanut butter and jelly sandwiches, and with Bible stories and with his care. "He had all kinds of opportunities to make it big, but he let them all go." Probably few things impress people in the Jesus movement, and people in general, more than someone who has given up much to give himself to a worthy cause, or, to the Lord's leading.

What impressed Susan most was the trend toward gay and women's movements. "Women are becoming politically gay and it will be a real power factor. Many people on Christian campuses were immediately upfront

about their sexuality. I've become more convinced than ever of the need for Christians to look at the area of sexuality, what God meant and means it to be. Stop ignoring repressive trips. They're dangerous. I wrote about all this in my prayer letter this month—I may lose a supporter or two. If Christians can be examples in marriage to people really sexually screwed up, it could be great. There were two thousand women in a radical Lesbian organization at Ann Arbor. Their goals and what they are hurting for are right on, they're really after great and good things. But the means. It's Lesbian heresy!"

A new brother to CWLF, who had gone along to film the tour, talked about his future. "I discovered on the trip that God could use me where I thought of leaving, avant-garde films. There are always visionary artists. Where does the vision come from? God or demonic forces? Is it the God of the Bible? I believe much of it is demonic. But I heard God telling me, Stay where you are, keep working where and the way you are working. Don't try to make any specific Christian films. It will come through. It seems bizarre even to talk of Christian avant-garde films. Maybe Christian rock would be the nearest example. But I think God wants me to use what I have in me."

Joyce talked about how shocked she was to find a different and closer relationship with God on the road than when she was involved in the everyday nit-picking of Berkeley (she works in the CWLF office). "When I was just being myself and doing immediate kinds of things, I saw God more clearly than ever. I always felt that people like me who aren't the stars of anything or the dregs of anything never really get

a chance to share. But there's a lot of ordinary people like me, not freaks. On the road I really shared with a lot of ordinary people. They were really appreciative. As I became more sympathetic to people, for example gays, God gave me more people to talk to. It was really an exciting trip. I already look back with nostalgia and regret. I really miss that vibrant time."

Jack Sparks talked about campuses. "It hit us hardest what we saw at Christian campuses. Perhaps especially because none of us ever had any contact with Christian seminaries. Most of them are cloistered places, not a lot of life. The most vital groups were the ones in the midst of difficult circumstances. The seminaries were so solidly oriented toward the intellectual thing. It seemed the opposite of real preparation was going on there. There was very little personal interaction with the world around them, especially the non-Christian world. They were outstandingly dead."

To the group that night Jack Sparks listed the reasons why they had gone: to get a picture of the scene on Christian and other college campuses; to give people an idea of what we're doing in Berkeley; to document all this in film format. It sounded like Berkeley had sent out missionaries from the counterculture and they came back, among other things, rejoicing that it had diffused all over the country. There was some joy in being puzzled over by establishment people.

Jack suggested that the "kinds of people threatened by us are the ones with false values. One of the brothers on the trip thinks people shouldn't even be in Seminaries unless they are specifically

called there. Personally we're committed more than ever to the people of the counterculture. They're my people and that's where I'm called. I feel more sure of my call than ever. I feel myself more and more called to be with the poor, the despised, the rejected." (Jack had said the same thing, with no little emphasis on social justice and social action, to the audience of Jesus Freaks at the Memorial Day Festival of the Son in the Santa Cruz Mountains.)

The film-maker brother added, "I saw it possible to relate to the middle class, too. God enables people from every place to be related to him." The brother continued, on this theme, partially in answer to questions from the audience challenging some of Jack's statements, or their implications. The filmmaker's comments were an important antidote to what was sounding like a countercultural life-style as a new mark of the Christian Church. (God, I thank thee that thou hast not made me middle class. Except you become countercultural, you cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven.) Possibly, the well-known and oft-described value of having an enemy or someone to define yourself over against was also playing a role. The scorn of others helps to solidify your own position and draw you closer together with your cadres, makes you strong and proud of what you are, as Eric Hoffer and others have pointed out.

Jack closed his remarks by noting that he "saw so little of being aggressively creative in interaction with people around them. People were wrapped up in themselves. Little was happening."

In the discussion that followed Susan's remarks about sex, a young married sister began haltingly, almost stuttering from happiness:

"I just want to say that God can take somebody who's had it really rough and make it really good. In my childhood I had it really bad in these things. It's nice that God can take our good points. But that he takes our crumminess . . . It's just so exciting, I can hardly go on." Her husband patted her leg when she was through, still glowing, and all who knew her and the story of the sexual trauma of her childhood, smiled wide with love and praise to the Lord.

Such ad hoc ministries as this tour have been characteristic of CWLF. They see them as flexible and creative responses to the movement of the culture and the calling of the Holy Spirit. They were present at the Democratic and Republican conventions in the summer of 1972. They covered the events for Right On, carried on a witnessing and feeding ministry in Flamingo Park (thousands of doughnuts and sandwiches every day) from their Forever Family tent, and distributed leaflets written on the spot to the throngs of people in and around the conventions. They were able to get press credentials, hence access to the Convention Hall, for the Democratic Convention, but not for the Republican.

A small contingent from CWLF has gone to the Mardi Gras in New Orleans and a large number have been active in the major peace demonstrations in San Francisco. A former ministry to the North Beach nightclub and topless area of San Francisco was, in the summer of 1973, reactivated by a small group of brothers who called themselves, in fun, the East Bay Bombers. The revival of this ministry is a good example of the absolute importance of a small nucleus of enthusiastic people who talk it up, much like fraternity brothers on a new project, exude great amounts of

enthusiasm, support and urge one another on, and in the process interest a few other people as well. They are having fun in this ministry, yet take it very seriously. They are committed to interaction on a personal level rather than mass leafleting or chanting of slogans.

Workshops

In the summers from 1971 to 1973, CWLF conducted workshops in street Christianity and the media. These workshops were one means through which CWLF could exercise some influence on the wider Jesus movement. They reflected the greater media sophistication, the more intellectual theological positions, the commitment to be a Christian presence within the culture, and the lack of legalism in life-style and witness which were uniquely characteristic of CWLF and not of the wider Jesus movement. Usually less than twenty-five, however, participated in these workshops.

The week-long media workshop in August 1973 offered four sections: "Toward a Radical Christian Press," "Christian Street Theater," "Radio, TV, Film, and Record Production," and "Life-style and World View." Participants chose two of four sections. "Each section of the workshop will feature presentations from brothers and sisters creatively involved in the areas under study. These presentations and the discussions which follow will attempt to pool our knowledge and experience and work toward solidarity in our Christian witness to the world." The brochure noted a cost of \$25 for the week, including lodging and two meals a day, or \$15 for the workshop only.

The Radical Street Christianity workshop offered in August 1972 promised sixteen different courses over a two-week period, but delivered only about half of them. The elder in charge of planning the workshop had decided the Berkeley scene was burning him out and left for the Rising Son Ranch a month before the workshop was to begin. The ad in Right On read: "Registration fee is \$10 for the whole workshop and can be prorated if you can only attend part of it. (If you want to come and don't have the bread—come anyway.)" Many of the brothers and sisters who attended the 1972 workshop were neither prompt nor regular in their participation. Some also arrived late in the two-week session and many left early. Some said that CWLF's life-style was "just not my trip, not enough praising the Lord, too much of a head trip." The publicity for the 1973 workshop was worded explicitly enough so that those who came were more likely to receive what they came for.

Besides daily Bible study and invitations to join in various CWLF ministries in the evening and on the weekend, the 1972 workshop offered courses on Christian literature, Women's Liberation, Christian free university, being a prophet in the culture, Bible study and tools for it, Christianity in a culture called post-Christian, street theater, Christian youth culture newspaper. These were mostly one- or two-hour presentations with discussion.

Here Comes the Son

CWLF has also produced a film, "Here Comes the Son," which they have shown widely in the Bay Area, especially to Christian groups interested in their ministry. Two of the brothers had gone to a

Los Angeles film festival and began thinking that all the good films presented problems, but never answers. They decided to do a film which would suggest what they had found in Christ. The film begins with a collage of people and sound effects and a voice screaming louder and louder, "Does someone hear?" The music becomes soft and there is a chronicle of the hunt for truth, brief interviews with people talking about their searches. There is a song about the wrong way and the way that works and testimonies from happy and glowing Christians. Do you want Jesus in your life, do you want a relationship with the living God? "All you gotta say is, yeah I do. It's real, it's true. Jesus." The scene changes to Berkeley and there is a contrast between the Berkeley April Coalition radicals and the Jesus People. The latter are saying that man must be changed first. Give God a chance. There is a scene of baptisms in Ludwig's Fountain on the Berkeley campus. There is preaching on the steps of Sproul Plaza. Jesus is the Way. A new way of life is possible. If you know Christ, you will know reality. The scene changes to the 1971 Spiritual Revolution Day, when hundreds of Jesus People gathered at Sacramento. The film closes suggesting you can know the Truth and it can set you free.

Memorial Day Jesus Festival

On the Memorial Day weekend in 1972 CWLF joined three Jesus movement ranches in Northern California for a festival of teaching, singing, fellowship, and generally praising the Lord together. The 1973 Festival of the Son in the Santa Cruz mountains, also on Memorial Day weekend, was a continuation and an enlargement of this. A sympathetic

Christian offered his large ranch free of charge, and brothers from up and down the Coast met for months prior to plan the Festival.

On Saturday of the 1973 weekend the crowd reached perhaps eight hundred, many relatively straight people from nearby churches. There were large parking areas for cars and a large meadow served as a campground for those with tents or vans. A huge newly mown field, which could hold perhaps two thousand sitting down, was the general gathering area.

It was a Festival of great joy and much praising the Lord, though not especially in the CWLF style. Only about ten brothers and sisters from CWLF came. A large sign welcomes you in the name of the Triune God, praises the Lord for your coming, and lists a few rules for the weekend—park and camp in designated areas, don't be driving your car around during the weekend, no drugs, alcohol, or weapons, keep the place clean, etc.

At the entrance a brother repeated the welcome of the sign and said "Praise the Lord," smiling as broadly as possible. Everybody smiled as broadly as possible the whole weekend, it seemed to anyone who did not typically smile as broadly as possible all the time. The next three brothers you met, pointing you in the right directions, also praised the Lord for your coming, wished you a blessed weekend. Everyone you met hoped the weekend would be a real blessing to you.

All the brothers who were ushers-traffic directors-garbage men-information givers-and "just-in-case" men wore armbands with the title "Servant" embroidered on them. A new group of Servants, perhaps twenty-five, served each day, to give as many brothers a chance as possible.

The Servants were suggested for their duty by elders from their locality.

After you park your car you head on a long walk to the main gathering area. On your way you stop at one of the many outhouses which have been set up, and notice that on the inside door is a large poster with a handwritten Bible verse on it—to contemplate while you are seated. By the end of the weekend you realize that each outhouse has a different Bible verse.

Closer to the gathering place you hear and then see a very large generator which powers all the sound equipment and lights on the stage. When you see the stage and the huge field, you wonder how Jesus spoke to the five thousand without a microphone and how he kept order while the five loaves and two fishes were distributed.

In the crowd you see many small children, a significant number of pregnant women, and not a few middle-aged people, most of the latter from the area, visiting for the day. The speaker is saying, "Everyone's invited to everyone's campsite. Shake hands with your neighbor and say, 'I know the Lord.'" He continues, "A sister suggested we call upon the Lord to bind hay fever through the area for the weekend. Let's all lift that up to the Lord right now. Also there's poison oak throughout the wooded areas. Please be careful." There are many requests for sisters to babysit. On the third day the announcer says he doesn't know why brothers couldn't help, too.

Every morning at 7 a.m., on a hill overlooking the camp, there is a meeting of elders or leaders from all the areas represented. This

meeting is a prayer meeting, a discussion of any problems that have arisen, and the setting up of the day's schedule—who feels called to teach or sing or whatever. A double wedding and a baptism also have to be worked into the schedule. At this meeting you discover there are groups from all over California, but especially Northern California, a few from Oregon, and two from New York and Baltimore.

The elders and leaders plan the day very carefully, with strict time limits, all of which are broken. There is an attempt to balance soft and heavy speakers. The master of ceremonies asks if any of the elders know of any brothers in their group who could stay a week and clean up after the Festival is over. "They must be hard-working and humble, willing to be submissive to authority. We don't want people who just want to mellow out in the weeds for a week."

On the schedule are singing groups, teachers, and leaders who could give "Reports on what's happening through the whole Body." There is a warning to teachers that they are responsible for the whole Body. "Don't take someone else's flock and lay a trip on them. People always say 'the Lord gave me something' and then lay a trip on. When you're older in the Lord you mellow and realize that some of the kicks you get on are personal and you see why you shouldn't be laying them on everybody else." The master of ceremonies says at this meeting and again to the whole group in the field, "If there's anybody with the gift of teaching and you have a couple of years in the Lord, you're welcome to come and share it with us. Nothing controversial that's going to blow everybody up. Just a simple Gospel message. We have a lot of

different groups here and there may be a lot of different teachings. We just want to come together and share what we have in common." It is significant that this very master of ceremonies heads up the ministry at Lighthouse Ranch, one of the largest in the Jesus movement, and that both this Ranch and probably the majority of the brothers and sisters at the Festival are Pentecostal. Yet never was a "tongue trip" laid on anybody from the speaker's platform the entire weekend. One could hear some speaking in tongues during the mass prayer sessions in the field, but there were never any prayer times given over wholly, by announcements, to speaking in tongues. There was also only one and very subdued healing service. The group sang "He Touched Me" and there were many prayers, but those asking for healing did not come forward and the entire event was decidedly nontheatrical.

The most theatrical event of the weekend and the most exciting was a mass baptism of eighty brothers and sisters in the ranch pond on Sunday afternoon. On Saturday evening, at the conclusion of a newly written rock opera, there was an invitation to all who had not received the Lord to come forward. Many did amidst great praising the Lord and vigorous praying, much of it in the ecstatic murmur of tongues. About 11 a.m. on Sunday, another invitation was given after a sermon on the meaning of Christian commitment and being a disciple of Jesus. Every attempt was made in the message to suggest that becoming a Christian was a great gift of grace and a new life-style, and not just a new bumper sticker or a high sojourn at some commune that turned you on. Many more came forward after this. All who had come forward both times

were asked to go to the rear of this field and be instructed for about an hour in the meaning of baptism. The leaders obviously took baptism very seriously and were concerned that no one do it as a lark or for an emotional high—at least that he be thoroughly instructed before he do it. At noon a huge crowd gathered all around the pond and all the baptismal candidates assembled with the leaders who would baptize them at a point where some boards and sunken barrels allowed stepping into the water. Brothers and sisters were baptized one by one while many cameras clicked away and hundreds of voices became heavy with sighs and praises. It was a hot afternoon and the ceremony took much longer than expected, as the eighty candidates took their turns. Two brothers stood in the water, asked each person several questions in a very serious tone, and then, when satisfied, abruptly swept the person backwards and down into the water. On the banks the crowds cheered. When the person came up, depending on how much water he had swallowed or how frightening it had all been, he either stumbled back to the bank or jumped up and down, hugged the baptizers, and shouted praise to the Lord. If he was in sufficient shape to do the latter, the crowd roared appreciatively.

The first few baptisms were rather dry affairs, as the elder who had instructed the whole group pressed in with dead serious questions and ultimately continued the act with no flair whatsoever. When Jack Sparks entered the water the whole ceremony came to life. He shouted at the top of his lungs, as much to the crowd as to the candidate, indeed "before the whole watching universe," a phrase he repeated many times, Why are you here? Who is Lord? What is your name? etc. The crowd

loved it. They were cheer leaders in the Lord's grandstand and they thought the very gates of hell were rumbling as they triumphantly thumbed their noses and raised their voices at the demonic forces most certainly gathered in the air around that pond.

When several small children also came forward, a few of the elders, including the two in the water at the time and the one who was the master of ceremonies for the whole weekend, balked, almost seemed annoyed, and then asked their parents if they thought they knew what they were doing. The parents were exuberant, the crowd was pleased, and the children were expectant. What else could they do? The dead-serious-about-baptism grilled the first few children to make sure they knew what they were doing and then obligingly baptized them. Some looked petrified, some were angelic. They were all glad when they were back on the bank.

The wedding that afternoon was a great festival, too. The brides wore home-made white dresses, personally embroidered. One of the grooms had a haircut so short and demeanor so stiff he looked as if he had just arrived from boot camp. A pastor/Jesus movement leader from Oregon preached a long and powerful wedding sermon which moved many to tears and wonder and warm hearts. Indeed, it was a good sermon. A friend sang a wedding song she had written for the occasion. There were traditional vows, with none of the concessions to Women's Liberation normally heard today, and then great joy and prayer throughout the assembly.

In an almost bizarre way Jesus permeated the atmosphere of the whole weekend. A singer comes to the microphone and says, "Testing . . . in the name of Jesus." There is talk of "HIM-books." Any sign warning

you not to drive off the road or to clean up your site or whatever always spelled out that other reality dimension in which the whole weekend was happening. "Keep Out—Jesus Loves You." "Off Limits—Praise the Lord." "Nature Walk—Jesus is the Way." The annexation of such phrases to every rule posted throughout the grounds almost annoys you, though to most people there it seems positively delightful. A sign at the roped-off area around the stage says: "No admittance except speakers, sound men . . . and Jesus."

The total scene is one of Jesus exuberance. You notice small pockets of people back in the camp area during presentations in the gathering area. As you check them out you see Bibles open and witnessing or discussions going on. You see four brothers out in the bushes at the far end of the field. Are they telling dirty stories? Talking about girls or cars? You sneak up. They are in heavy debate over a point in the Book of Revelation. During the singing the whole crowd seems to jump up and down and fall all over itself in joy. Sometimes it looks like a country hoedown. By far the greatest number of spontaneous embraces ("I never expected to see you here. Oh, praise the Lord.") are between brothers. Everywhere you overhear earnest conversations, testimonies, admonitions, Bible verses, expressions of delight in the Lord. That is all that is happening. That is the whole show. Everyone seems to be there under the same sacred canopy, they all agree on the signs, and the signs keep reminding them, as if they needed it, of who and what they're all about. One communal group in the campground has a sign near their kitchen area: "It would be a real blessing if you'd put

all your plastic spoons in this box." You wander back to the gathering area and hear the announcer say, "The Lord has a wallet up here he wants to give back to It also has \$25 in it." The whole crowd erupts: "Praise the Lord. THANK YOU, Jesus!!"

The 1973 Festival of the Son meant that all kinds of Jesus groups can come together to praise a common Lord and celebrate their unity and diversity in the Body. They are self-conscious of who they are, what the Jesus movement means to them, and of the value of coming together to strengthen one another and present a united witness. Something has happened to the youth culture and their large presence tells it out loud to them and to anybody who wants to look and listen. The Festival also suggested one significant direction many in the Jesus movement had traveled—strongly led rural communes.

You discover that CWLF is highly atypical and at the same time that Jack Sparks is treated with profound respect and listened to. Hardly any leader of import does not know Jack. During one morning elders' meeting, the master of ceremonies said, partly in good humor and partly as a great mark of respect, "If we're all elders, I guess brother Jack here is kind of an apostle."

Notes to Chapter V

¹C. Wendell King, Social Movements in the United States (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 27.

²William McLoughlin, Billy Graham: Revivalist in a Secular Age (New York: Ronald Press, 1960), p. 19.

³Lowell D. Streiker, The Jesus Trip (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), p. 92.

⁴The Four Spiritual Laws, as printed in hundreds of thousands of tracts handed out by Campus Crusade for Christ, are the following: (1) God loves you, and has a wonderful plan for your life. (2) Man is sinful and separated from God, thus he cannot know and experience God's love and plan for his life. (3) Jesus Christ is God's only provision for man's sin. Through him you can know and experience God's love and plan for your life. (4) We must individually receive Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord; then we can know and experience God's love and plan for our lives.

⁵The Street People (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1971), p. 2.

⁶Michael McFadden, The Jesus Revolution (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 9.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁸Letters to Street Christians (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1971).

⁹Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), p. 150.

¹⁰Erling Jorstad, That New-Time Religion: The Jesus Revival in America (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), p. 66.

¹¹Benjamin Zablocki, The Joyful Community (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 300-320.

¹²Bryan Wilson, Religious Sects (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

CHAPTER VI

JESUS: SYMBOL, STYLE, STRUCTURE

The title of this dissertation is "Jesus in Berkeley." It is the story of a Jesus group which evolved from the early efforts of three missionaries who came to make Jesus an issue in Berkeley. CWLF came to be seen, and for a time to see itself, as one part of a national phenomenon called the Jesus movement. So far we have looked at the people who came into the Christian World Liberation Front, at the structure that began to grow around them, at their life-style, and at their ministries. It is time now to look at the one after whom they named themselves: Jesus. That is, we turn now to their doctrine, their ideology, their theology.

To look at the Jesus of CWLF is not to turn away from the task of describing and interpreting a movement and its people. It is to continue that task, but from a different vantage point. We may assume that who Jesus is for CWLF and how he comes to be symbolized are related to the social-psychological shape of the group, that the imagery of Jesus will answer the needs and experiences of those who come to adopt it. That symbolization also arises out of a historical context. An understanding of the group's theology, then, or its symbolization of Jesus, will help to locate it socially, psychologically, and historically.

I do not find it necessary to assume that CWLF's Jesus is only a representation of the group itself, that Jesus is purely a social-psychological construction. I do not insist in a reductionist way that

such symbolization does not really "stand for" anything other than the needs and experiences of the group. Whether or in what ways the symbolization of Jesus touches transcendent realities which exist apart from the group, whether God is an "unconditioned independent variable," is an issue I deliberately leave open and do not choose to address here.

I do suggest that a dialectic develops between a group's theological symbolizations and the ongoing life of the group itself. Some symbolizations of Jesus may prove more powerfully evocative than others. Some symbols (or some glimpses of Jesus) may act back upon the group in ways which pull the group along or move it in directions it could not have foreseen or might not have chosen. That is the issue of the dialectical relationship between a religious group and the symbols of transcendent reality it chooses to relate to. Thus the shape of the group not only influences the choice of symbolization but may in turn be influenced by it.

The three issues addressed in this chapter are those of symbol, style, and structure. (1) Who is Jesus for CWLF? That is the question of symbolization and theology. From the question about Jesus, two other issues arise. (2) What is the theological style surrounding and undergirding the symbols of Jesus? How are the symbols used? (3) Finally, what do these disciples of Jesus see themselves called to? What kind of family or community arises? Is there a social ethic? Has CWLF reached a self-conscious position vis-à-vis "the world"?

Underlying the issues of symbol, style, and structure addressed in this chapter is a question about the historical location in American

Protestantism of the phenomenon that came to be known as the Jesus movement. It is important to describe that location even before addressing the issues of theological symbol, style, and structure, particularly because many critics of the Jesus movement will find it hard to imagine talking about the theology of such an apparently unsophisticated and ephemeral movement, and because many inside the Jesus movement have such an a-historical consciousness that they could never come to address the issues in this way. Prior to addressing the main issues of this chapter, then, we deal with the issue of historical location in a brief preface.

Preface: Historical Location

To speak of a theology is nearly always to speak of a historical tradition. One can speak of various theological traditions within Roman Catholicism, relating to such historically identifiable sources as Augustine or Aquinas or Occam. There is a Lutheran tradition, a Calvinist tradition, an Anabaptist tradition, an Arminian tradition. In the United States the theological position of fundamentalism has been clustered around five basic fundamentals which were contested in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy early in the twentieth century. Those fundamentals were the virgin birth of Christ, the deity of Christ, a literal second coming of Christ, the reality of miracles, and a verbally inspired and inerrant Bible. Pentecostalism, affirming such fundamentals but emphasizing the baptism of the Holy Spirit, arose about 1900.

In the history of indigenous American sects and denominations there has often been a lack of historical consciousness. Alexander Campbell, in the middle of the nineteenth century, was one of many who called for a simple and naive return to Biblical, first-century Christianity, as if nineteen centuries of historical tradition had not occurred. He sought one all-embracing, Bible-based Christian Church, but founded instead yet another denomination, the Disciples of Christ, off of which eventually split the Churches of Christ, etc. Bryan Wilson and others have commented on the fact that no sect is ever interested in calling itself a sect. It sees itself simply as the repristination of the early church with a theology straight from the Bible, free of centuries of historical sidetracks. Such sects assiduously avoid their historical (and social) roots and would be incredulous and insulted at the assertion, for example, that they are heavily influenced by Wesley's Methodism or left-wing Anabaptism or some even more grating combination of ingredients. The members of American sects are simply and typically self-professed Bible-believers. If they use the word theology, they would mean by it the self-evident outcome of their Bible study. (Well-established denominations like the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, and the Southern Baptists are no less assured of the self-evidence of their theology, however, just as Unitarians, for example, may find their theistic humanism too obvious for debate.)

If the historical-theological roots or location of much of American sectarian Protestantism remain mostly out of view of the true believers, the social location is even more remotely hidden from sight.

Even to imagine the function of class or relative deprivation in the origin and evolution of a new sect would require a whole new consciousness. This is not to suggest that theology would thereby be impugned. But the sectarian true believer might consider it a destruction of theology if it were suggested that his sect did not spring full-grown from first-century Biblical Christianity.

One must bear all this in mind when one comes to talk about the theology of the Jesus movement. There is the enormous influence of American fundamentalism, the preeminent emphasis on "heart change" out of Methodism, heavy measures of Pentecostalism in certain parts of the movement, and, especially in such a group as Christian World Liberation Front, the rationalist apologetic of a conservative Calvinism hand-in-comfortable-hand with an Anabaptist social ethic. None of this should be surprising as long as one remembers that crucial origins of the Jesus movement lie in the early approaches toward a hippie youth culture by a few fundamentalist-evangelical-Pentecostal pastors and laity. In that matrix the Jesus movement began to grow. There was a back-and-forth movement, with a certain kind of Protestant with new nerve and old evangelicalism coming to the youth culture as a new mission field and a youth culture going with some hesitation, some nerviness, and some last chance hope to that same kind of Protestant who seemed to have Answers.¹ One may note emphatically that the Jesus movement, and hence later its theology as well, did not owe its origins in any primary way to the coffee houses and drop-in drug-rap centers of liberal Protestantism nor to the social action ministries of mainline campus ministries.

Within CWLF it is true both that there is little consciousness of historical-theological traditions and that no one of these (unacknowledged) traditions prevails. There are people as heavily into dispensationalism² as its seedbed in this country, Dallas Seminary; people whose ecclesiology is heavily influenced by Anabaptism in general and the Plymouth Brethren in particular; orthodox Presbyterians; and a great range of people on a continuum from austere fundamentalism to loose evangelicalism. Within this latter grouping are not a few who have had no significant contact with any of the American sects or denominations and are not interested in seeking any. One may assume that the theology with which they have been operating is a theology they have found in a literal reading of the Bible within a distinctly conservative Protestant context. While such people may vigorously disclaim any denominational or sectarian ties or debts, one may easily chart their relative position in American conservative Protestantism by their positions on many common indicators. Such indicators would be anti-intellectualism, anti-ritualism, anti-clericalism, verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, active and essential prayer life, the necessity for a free decision of the heart for Christ, concern about prophecy and the imminent return of Christ, Pentecostalism, denial of the significance of culture and world. Within CWLF, for example, there would be little or no Pentecostalism, only a slight anti-intellectualism, a generally affirmative attitude toward a Christian witness in the culture. Most of the other indicators, however, would apply.

I have not attempted to trace out every historical root to the flowers that have grown in the Jesus movement. My chief concern is with the flowers, but such flowers will be unimaginable apart from certain roots. There will be those who insist the soil looks familiar, too—indeed, that such flowers only grow in a certain soil which they already will know how to describe. These latter are those who write the sociology of movements and sects, who describe the circumstances under which sects flower.

With all the above disclaimers in mind and aware of the impossibility of imposing general theological positions on a diverse group, we nevertheless posit that there is a good deal of common theology operant within CWLF and that a certain cluster of perspectives, almost a certain atmosphere, can be said to signify a group far more agreed than disagreed. We now turn to that theology.

Who Is Jesus: Symbol

We begin with the eternal quest for "Jesus himself." After looking at how some past answers have been symbolized, we see the reemergence of the question in the youth culture of the 1960s. In CWLF several symbolizations of Jesus came to stand out: Jesus the Alternative, Jesus the Experience, Jesus—Homecoming, Jesus—One of Us, Jesus—Coming Soon. Implicit in the descriptions are the questions of origin, function, and evolution. How did such a symbolization come to be chosen? What does it do for the group in terms of what they are affirming or denying? Where does the group go with it or where does it take the group (the

question of the dialectic between transcendent symbol and religious group)?

The Quest for Jesus Himself

From the days of the New Testament people have pressed for an answer to the question, What do you think of Christ? The second issue of Right On supplied a full page eye-catching answer. Beneath a picture of Jesus was a text which in slightly different form had appeared before in American history and which now again has traveled around the world:

Jesus. Alias: the Messiah, Son of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Prince of Peace, etc.

Notorious Leader of a World-wide Liberation Movement.

Wanted for the following charges:

Practicing medicine and distributing food without a license.

Interfering with businessmen in the Temple.

Associating with known criminals, radicals, subversives, prostitutes, and street people.

Claiming to have the authority to make people God's children.

Appearance: Unknown. Rumored to have no regard for conventional dress standards.

Hangs around slum areas, few rich friends, often sneaks out into the desert.

Has a group of devoted followers, formerly known as Apostles, now called freemen (from his saying: You will know the truth and the Truth shall set you free).

Beware - This man is extremely dangerous. His insidiously inflammatory message is particularly effective with young people who haven't been taught to ignore him yet. He changes men and sets them free.

WARNING; HE IS STILL AT LARGE!

At the same time one of America's famed radio preachers was assuring his audience that Jesus was not the first hippie, did not plot to overthrow the government, and did not reject the Establishment. The avid listeners of "The World Tomorrow" met Garner Ted Armstrong's Jesus:

One, the truth is that Christ was shorthaired like any common Jew of his day; two, He was a homeowner, and perhaps owned two homes; three, if He wore sloppy clothes, do you think those Roman soldiers would gamble for His garments—the fact is He wore a fairly expensive garment, which we understand was seamless and hand woven; four, He was a taxpayer, which the Bible proves.³

Jesus seems to vary with his audience. Yet many Christian believers are sure they know in their hearts the Jesus who stands behind the variation. Every age, it seems, tries to get back to that Jesus, to Jesus Himself. Albert Schweitzer has chronicled the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century quest for the historical Jesus in his classic book of that title. He describes how each epoch found its reflection in Jesus, how each individual created Him in accordance with his own character. Schweitzer passionately lamented the efforts to strip Jesus the imperious eschatological figure (Schweitzer's Jesus!) down to size:

. . . notice what they have made of the great imperious sayings of the Lord, how they have weakened down His imperative world-contemning demands upon individuals, that He might not come into conflict with our ethical ideals, and might tune His denial of the world to our acceptance of it. Many of the greatest sayings are found lying in a corner like explosive shells from which the charges have been removed. No small portion of elemental religious power needed to be drawn off from His sayings to prevent them from conflicting with our system of religious world-acceptance.⁴

Somehow Jesus persists. The last paragraph of Schweitzer's book has become, in its mysticism, beauty, and restrained affirmation, one of his most famous statements:

He comes to us as One unknown, without a name, as of old, by the lakeside, He came to those men who knew Him not. He speaks to us the same word: "Follow thou me!" and sets us to the tasks which He has to fulfill for our time. He commands. And to those who obey Him, whether they be wise or simple, He will reveal Himself in the toils, the conflicts, the sufferings which they shall pass through in His fellowship, and, as an ineffable mystery, they shall learn in their own experience Who He is.⁵

Although Schweitzer's work had seemed to prove a contemporary location for every "historical Jesus" that men uncovered, a "new quest for the historical Jesus" began in Germany in the 1950s. Interest in Jesus Himself could not be suppressed. Jesus also survived the Death of God movement of the middle sixties. One wag suggested the new theology's slogan: God is dead, long live Jesus. At that time Bishop Pike was popularizing the meaning of Christianity as being a "man for others" like Jesus.

Perhaps inevitably, hippies on the West Coast rediscovered Jesus as a funky character to groove on. It was obvious to them, as it had been to David Friedrich Strauss when he wrote his epochal Life of Jesus in 1835, that the accretions of church history and doctrine would have to be stripped away. As soon as they were, people committed to experiencing everything began experiencing Jesus too. The mystery of his person, as Schweitzer had written, was always at hand in the culture beckoning anyone interested to thoughtful meditation. Jesus was becoming fascinating again, also in the counterculture.

By the late sixties Jesus was "in." Christian publications and religious hucksters, the latter before the former, soon caught on. There appeared Jesus posters, sweatshirts, bumper stickers, watches, jockey shorts, and bikinis. There was "gold at the top of Jacob's ladder." Eventually there were Surfers for Jesus, Bikers for Jesus, Karate for Jesus, and Ham Radio for Jesus. A German periodical Bibel und Kirche (Bible and Church) changed its spring issue from "The Picture of the Church in the New Testament" to the theme "Jesus 1972" when it discovered

the question of Jesus "burning at its fingertips."⁶ Soon nearly everyone was rushing to pay attention. If all this was not the collective effervescence that Durkheim wrote of—although the Jesus movement was not without that, especially in its early years—there was a kind of media effervescence which drew wave after wave of questing young, the Jesus-boppers, and made it a status symbol to be the first on your block to get Jesus.

The Time cover story on the Jesus movement had noted in a section "Many Things to Many Men" that 60,000 books in the past century had sought to explain Christ.⁷ New views of Jesus were now emerging, replacing those the editors of Christian Century found in recent decades: "the Bruce Bartonian Rotarian, the East Harlem Protestant social worker, the anguished German Lutheran existentialist preoccupied with hermeneutics, the dagger-bearing zealot fomenting revolution."⁸ The quest for Jesus Himself was shouted and sung in the rock opera "Jesus Christ Superstar":

Jesus Christ Jesus Christ
 Who are You? What have you sacrificed?
 Jesus Christ Superstar
 Do you think you're what they say you are?

The emergence of the figure of Jesus, then, became a central fact in one kind of religious experience in the late 1960s. It was a fact so clear that the movement which grew up around that experience was quickly dubbed the Jesus Movement. The people who came to Berkeley as missionaries and founded CWLF were ready to take that interest in Jesus and redirect it to the Jesus whom they believed in. In those early days it was the Jesus of the Four Spiritual Laws which Campus Crusade for Christ

popularized, but loosened up considerably in a free translation to the streets. On the inside pages of Right On, however, that Jesus began to take on all the features of evangelical theology.

When a Lutheran Seminary student wrote CWLF's paper for an answer in their own words to the question "Who was Christ and what did he do?" the editors replied:

Jesus Christ was the Son of God¹ who has been part of the God head² throughout all eternity, creating and sustaining the universe.³ He became man⁴ in order to redeem mankind through His death.⁵ He had to be the God-man because only man can die and only God is perfect.⁶ He was born the son of a woman,⁷ was crucified,⁸ buried, rose again,⁹ appeared to many witnesses after his resurrection,¹⁰ and ascended¹¹ again to the right hand of the Father where he sits as the mediator between God and man.¹²

¹ Matt. 11:27.

² John 10:30.

³ John 1:3.

⁴ John 1:14.

⁵ Heb. 2:9.

⁶ Rom. 3:23.

⁷ Matt. 1:18.

⁸ Matt. 27, Mark 15, Luke 23, John 19.

⁹ Matt. 28, Mark 16, Luke 24, John 20.

¹⁰ Matt. 23:16-30; Mark 16:15-16; Acts 1:1-8.

¹¹ Mark 16:19; Acts 1:9-12.

¹² Gal. 3:19.

An article, "What Child Is This?" in that same December 1971 issue began: "Jesus Christ was a cold ascetic to D. H. Lawrence, a clown to Harvey Cox, a super-avatar to Alan Watts: Who was He really?" A large graphic at the bottom of the page showed Watts, Cox, and Lawrence arriving at Bethlehem as three wisemen. As they are respectively proclaiming him

supersage, clown, and killjoy, Baby Jesus is saying, "It's three wiseacres from the West." The article concludes:

Who do you say that I am? Why do so many men continue to spend their lives contriving Christ's life into something it wasn't? It's because, if the life of Christ as stated in the Bible is true, it is explosive, the implications are phenomenal, deeply personal and demanding. If it is true and you accept Christ as your Savior you will have to die to your old self and become a new creature. This is frightening, and yet those who have made this choice can really say, "His yoke is easy; His burden is light."

Undertaking an honest investigation of the claims of Christ may not be easy. . . . In fact it may be well to pray that if there is a God He will help you in an honest search. But be prepared for results.

Men will continue distorting the life of Christ but in the meantime Christ's insistent question comes to you, "Who do you say that I am?"

Against the cultural and historical relativism so decried in an evangelical apologetic, CWLF was trying to locate their Jesus squarely in the New Testament, suggesting that other pictures were time-serving or self-serving departures from the Bible.

It cannot be surprising that also among the brothers and sisters in CWLF myth and man, doctrine and social location, confession and experience, all came together.

Jesus the Alternative

"You've tried revolution, drugs, sex, Krishna, now try Jesus."

Susan saw Jesus as a love alternative to hate-tripping. For a woman heroin dealer in her thirties, Jesus was an alternative to pushing, living out of wedlock, and occasionally losing her two small children. For a macho, agnostic brother named Pedro, Jesus meant the end of pointless wanderings and the beginning, a year later, of a brief missionary visit to Spain. David and Sharon came to see a Jesus who was an

alternative to straight and unimaginative churches and the beginning of authentic Christian journalism.

The new Jesus arrived as a relief from the goody-goody of Sunday School, from the emotional flatness of "head-tripping" theology, or from the dreariness of the churches. He was an alternative to destructive families, desperate spiritual voyages, or going to a middle-class church. For some evangelicals he was an alternative status system for those on their way up, outside the system.

There were several sources for the emergence of the symbolization of Jesus as the Alternative. Many American young people living unsatisfying lives at home or school or in active disagreement with the American society and government were looking for a better way. The development of alternatives had become a focus of action among many small groups and individuals—the visionary society of Paul Goodman, free schools, communes, food conspiracies. Marx had already become a certain alternative for many who were able to reduce the complexity of life by means of an economic analysis. The human potential movement had now risen, partly from within the failure of political action, to answer Perls or Maslow to the quest for a new way. Encounter groups, humanistic psychology, Esalen, body awareness, and primal screams, to name a few, were emerging alternatives to the American cultural morass appearing at about the same time as the Jesus movement. In evangelical circles there had become prominent in the last decades a kind of utilitarian evangelism which touted the Biblical Jesus as being far more effective than whatever you were now using. Already in the early church Jesus was often

described as the radical Alternative—the difference between light and darkness.

How did Jesus the Alternative function? He was a promising replacement for a life that wasn't working, personally or politically. In some cases he was preached as a judgment and/or lure to political radicals. (It is interesting to note that when several all-American types moved on to new ministries outside CWLF and when more people with politically radical pasts came into the Family, Jesus the Alternative became somewhat more of a Completer: grace perfecting nature, as it were, rather than in radical discontinuity.) Often he seemed to legitimate certain new directions people who were already Christians wanted to travel.

CWLF especially attracted people for whom Jesus functioned in the latter way. For them Jesus symbolized an alternative kind of ministry and an alternative way of being a Christian. They were people solid in their Christian faith but perplexed about their Christian identity. The non-middle-class Jesus emerging in the Jesus movement looked like considerably better news than the carefully controlled gospel they had heard all their lives. Here was an alternative they were hungry for—authenticity in commitment and life-style. To Jack, a new seminary graduate, it looked like a new frontier to do real theological work. To Frank it was a chance to use his creative gifts in an accepting atmosphere unencumbered by all the rules of an evangelical youth organization. To David it was a chance to write, create, and lead in ways his Brethren church would not tolerate. To Elizabeth it was a chance to let living in Berkeley be the test of her Christianity.

The symbolization of Jesus the Alternative proved to be rich with possibility, and eventually such a symbol was capable of taking members of the group in a variety of directions. At first there came about that primary symbol of the Jesus movement: "One Way." Jesus was seen as the ultimate alternative to merely human solutions to problems whose origin was seen to be the separation of people from their heavenly Father. Such a way calls into question Eastern religion, Jewish religion, and no religion. It assaults humanism, atheism, and liberal Christianity. Its proof text is John 14:6. "I am the way the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father but by me."

That early certainty was carried in several directions, however. Some sighed with utter relief and experienced immediate closure once they found the way. Social and psychological complexities were disacknowledged. The devil is the answer to the problem of evil. Social critique and social understanding are unnecessary. The appeal of such a Jesus is to the lonely, the insecure, the self-doubting. The needful, adolescent response to the good news of salvation was elevated and solidified as a total and complete faith. The first rush of salvation prematurely creates a Jesus who is a totem of absolute, unwavering certainty. This Jesus seems more to function as a rejection of the past than as an affirmation of the future.

For others, "One Way" is an affirmation of a new future in Jesus, but of the simplest kind. The new believer takes the role of wide-eyed Truth perceiver, receiver, and sharer. "If you're saved and you know it clap your hands." The motto seemed to be: First and Last Jesus. If

the Apostle Paul had said, "I am determined to know nothing but Christ the Crucified," these joyful believers seemed to be saying, "I am determined to know nothing."

But most in CWLF came to say, "First Jesus and then—whatever." The work on the world and on themselves continues out of the context and motivation of their new evangelical faith. Bryan began to discover the Lord "handing me my problems back to deal with them." Susan went back to radical politics. Joyce, once a schoolmarmish evangelical, became involved in prison ministry and reform. Carolyn, a gentle Southern belle exuding Jesus songs when she first came to CWLF, became involved with gay women and feminist political action. She may leave CWLF to devote herself wholly to such a ministry. A famous slogan in the Jesus movement goes: "After Jesus everything else is just toothpaste." These people might say, "Before Jesus everything was just toothpaste." Some of them are now capable of an excitement about life and a vigorous engagement of reality which sees all creation waking up for the first time to rebirth. Theirs is not a defensive alternative but a free and affirming one.

The toothpaste slogan is scarcely ever mentioned today in CWLF, though occasionally it may be blurted out as a fond recollection of an earlier naiveté the group may be in danger of losing. How to account for this change? Possibly, a potentially rich symbol of Jesus pulled the group toward greater theological maturity (read: inclusiveness). Perhaps their own emerging shape as a group with considerable maturity and sophistication led to a more refined symbolization beyond simple slogans. The background of higher education characteristic of so many attracted

to CWLF is significant also for a rejection of a Jesus narrowly sectarian or legalistic. Nor can the shape of the Berkeley situation within which and to which CWLF is not only committed to minister but to which it is greatly attracted be minimized. People who tune a message to their hearers may begin to hear the message differently themselves. The words that St. Luke reports the Apostle Paul saying to the men of Athens sound similarly tuned to the situation of the preacher's hearers.

Nevertheless, the evolution of this symbolization from a narrow "one way" to an inclusive Christology is sometimes detoured. One of these detours is the apparent decision by many to "stop the world" at the location of the "hour I first believed." That is, Jesus the Alternative comes to absolutize a countercultural life-style, with its celebration of spontaneity and cultivation of improvisation as a permanent way of living. When a small group of CWLF leaders returned in 1973 from a three-week tour sharing with Christians around the country what God was doing in Berkeley, one could hear a near smugness in the joy with which they returned to the true authenticity of Berkeley. Their mission seemed to have been a greening of the churches, which, in part, meant: Become more like us. The suspicion that the counterculture might have become the real alternative (not Jesus) led Frank and his wife to return to the South, where they wanted to raise a family in the kinds of traditions they still loved and where they saw a possibility for using their talents within the straight church.

The symbolization of Jesus the Alternative has been opened up widely by only a few. They are talking and writing of an authentic

"third way" for dealing with reality, the world, and the self. It is the beginning of a Christian philosophy, and a strong doctrinal apologetic has followed as well, often steered in the direction of a rational Calvinism represented by such an evangelical guru as Francis Schaefer. His ministry in L'Abri, Switzerland, has had profound influence on the many young evangelicals who make their pilgrimage there or who read his books. Sharon has taken Right On from the immediate reality of CWLF in her attempt to make it a newspaper of such a "third way." David left CWLF to become a teacher in a Bible college and dreams of founding a journal which will represent such a way to would-be radical Christians. The "One Way" these voice is open and engaging, though even that will by definition never receive a sympathetic hearing from those who theologically are universalists or historically and philosophically are relativists. It is the "One Way" of people who have been around and who have felt themselves pulled by Jesus the Alternative to a fresh, satisfying answer, one they will argue with vigor.

Jesus the Experience

Billy Graham has called the demand for an experience with Jesus Christ a primary characteristic of the Jesus movement. A Christian Century editorial called the movement's Jesus "a fresh green growth in a sere landscape, a lift from the boredom in a bland conservative-and-liberal church, a voice of authority and a beckoning hint of love in a world where the young seek simplicity and innocence."⁹ The Christian evangelists who came together with the movement of the young that would

become the Jesus movement were devotees of "heart religion." The direct experience of Jesus in one's heart and life is an irreducible element in fundamentalist and evangelical Christianity.

"God, I'm offering you my life, such as it is. If you want it, if you are out there, show yourself to me. Let me feel you moving in my life now." Such a prayer has been learned and prayed by many a brother and sister who has come into CWLF. That one could feel one's heart warmed by the "God who is there," that one could sense that the Person on the other end of the line has not hung up, that one could experience a personal relationship with the Father—all this comes with breath-taking power to those who discover it coming true for themselves.

The sources for the call to experience are not mysterious. In recent centuries the revolt against orthodox formalism by German Pietism and later by the movement in Scandinavia, the Wesleyan revivals, and, much more recently, American frontier evangelism—all have become sedimented into a basic core of the evangelical experience and belief system. Most recently, the countercultures' revolt against the academic establishment has been led, in part, by the call for experience. Professors without "experience credentials" were belittled.¹⁰ In the drug culture, in experimental life-styles, in the evolution and development of alternative institutions, and in their interpersonal relationships, the young sought and insisted on experience. The vacuity of so much liberal Protestant piety could not possibly have made a connection with such a mentality, but the warm religiosity of many of the evangelical missionaries was instantly understood by many of the young.

The experience of Jesus means many things. For some it is a conversion. For some it is a startling disconfirmation of all their previous experiences with the churches. For some who have adopted a countercultural worldview and for those whose desperation has emptied them emotionally, the experience of Jesus may offer authenticity and trustworthiness. "You begin by talking to him, asking if He will come into your life." The potential member of the Forever Family is taught to expect the experience, particularly the experience of God being your friend, of you being important to Him, of your coming into His plan and design, of starting anew with someone you can depend on.

For many in the Jesus movement Jesus the Experience is the preeminent reality in their new life and faith. The most important thing about Jesus is that you experience him. That Jesus is someone you can relate to, feel in your heart, talk to, is more significant than anything else.

Within CWLF this experience of Jesus is a *sine qua non*, a fact of religious life that warms and unites the whole group. The kind of ecstatic cheekiness and wide-eyed wonder at what the Lord is doing that one can observe at many Family Meetings may signal Jesus the Experience being worshipped and praised and passed around the community. The blissful smiles belong to those who may be returning again to their own conversion experience or are staying high on the testimony of others. The emotional highs, the rapturous joy, the ecstatic assurance does not, in CWLF, move to that unique experience—bodily healing. No one in the community has been taught to expect that kind of experience, though

anyone can discover it at Resurrection City's Night of Miracles, just down the street. Jesus the Experience will take shape, then, as the group shapes itself for communal worship, for individual witness to those still searching, and for times of doubt, uncertainty, and lack of direction.

It is no small task to keep this Jesus alive in the group as the community becomes more and more involved in nonevangelistic ministries and finds itself further from the streets than in the early years. Already by 1973 one could hear complaints that the old excitement and spontaneity and life and enthusiastic sharing everyone could remember from previous Family celebrations are most often lacking now. Jesus the Experience is always the baseline to which one returns, the wellspring to which one goes back for nourishment, the common denominator that binds the group together. But all but a few in the community need more.

This Jesus can only be the beginning of CWLF ministries. The move into a newspaper, into street theater, into engagement with competing religions, into political involvement requires more than Jesus the Experience, though He always is present at the heart of it all. When a new ministry is being launched, when Transcendental Meditation is being exposed as a false religion, when the community is struggling with the women's question, when CWLF is trying to find an identity as church—other symbolizations are required.

Because the recovery of experience occurred in an evangelical context, the recovery of wonder, mystery, and symbol that can be observed at various other places in American culture has not happened among Jesus

People. CWLF baptisms in Ludwig's Fountain on the Berkeley campus may be fearless testimonies in a sea of unbelief or an occasion for euphoria as the Family delights in its own self-conscious joy and naiveté. But no rich sacramental or liturgical components are present. Bloodless celebrations of the Lord's Supper are everywhere typical. There is a wonder, however, that "such as we" should be joined together by God in such a Forever Family. It is a wonder amidst the little circle of believers shared with German pietism and the Wesleyan meetings. Perhaps such a wonder underlies the liturgical imagery of bread, one loaf, the fruit of the vine which are so prominent in the early Church.

With the exception of music, few if any of the arts play a role in the recovery of experience. Certainly the richly embroidered chasubles of Roman Catholic or Episcopal priests would be an insurmountable difficulty for a movement distinctly anticlerical. But there are also no banners, no wall hangings or richly crafted crosses and crucifixes. Yet much of the Jesus movement has an ad hoc quality about it, and we should expect new art, if any. There has indeed flourished the crafts recovered by the counterculture: richly figured leather covers for one's Bible or painstakingly embroidered pictures of Jesus on jackets and shirts. There is also the revolutionary (puritan) art of underground newspapers, pamphlets distributed at rallies, and posters adorning telephone poles. Art is functional and, therefore, secondary.

An increasing few in CWLF are trying to move well beyond a Jesus of a too-narrowed experience. Though the shape of a more inclusive Christology has yet to appear, the first Jesus of prematurely closed

experience is no longer a primary locating reference. They are likely to feel more in tune with some others they see around them—who may have art but not heart. We may expect that as these few broaden, Jesus the Experience will broaden.

Jesus—Homecoming¹¹

A testimony in Right On closes with the words "Come Home!" Not a few of the brothers and sisters in the Forever Family see themselves as prodigal children who have returned to the Father's house. Homecoming is a powerful image. George McGovern in 1972 wanted to utilize its evocative power in his campaign slogan, Come Home America. The old revival song beckons: "Softly and tenderly Jesus is calling, calling to sinners, 'Come Home.'"¹²

What is this homecoming? After long and tortuous wanderings, after crushed hopes and burnt-out lives, suddenly there is the discovery of peace, comfort, healing, security, rest, salvation. One eases tiredly down on the bed, takes off the heavy shoes with the dust of the road, a brother runs for a cold glass of water, you sleep soundly, and the Family table is set when you awake. You can go home again! There you find purpose, you love, you are happy. If you are ready, there is even the strength to go back and love your parents. All this the evangelist presents, with Jesus as its symbol. Many a brother or sister has experienced exactly this when they are led up to CWLF's Dwight House, three blocks and a million miles from Telegraph Avenue.

This Jesus is more down-home than skybound. He is the one who told the parable of the Prodigal Son, who sits and eats with outcasts

and sinners, who associates with foreigners, women, children, and religious amateurs. He is the "What a Friend" Jesus, perhaps the Jesus longed for in mystical devotions, the whispered "thank you Jesus" and fervent "yes Lord" of so many Jesus prayers, the Companion of old campfires and present oceanside rapture.

Whence the image of homecoming? It is in the unconscious of humankind, in old revival hymns, in countless testimonies. Sometimes it is a regressive if not escapist longing for fusion. Sometimes it may symbolize a return to values and ideals long since rejected but now reaffirmed as a way out of present dilemmas. It is the hope that beginnings may rejuvenate us as we struggle toward ends.

The new home may be a total rejection of the immediate past. If one has been gone too long, if the voyage was too terrifying, one may never leave home again. Now life will be always "just family," an endless time of table talk among the brothers and sisters, and in the Father's care and protection.

For others, homecoming is an affirmation of a new identity, a new place one is trying to discover. When Mike came to CWLF he had been moving from congregation to congregation trying to make it as a minister. Here he hoped to find acceptance, respect, and appreciation. Barry was a failure in life, but could not face himself. He dreamed of single-handedly inaugurating a new ministry to people with drug problems, a ministry that would be a new life for himself as well. Joyce didn't like herself and didn't live well with other people. All her years in "Christian service" had not been satisfying. For an unappreciated

schoolmarm with low self-esteem, home was a place where you could be loved, satisfied, and made new. For some perpetual party-crashers, for those whose only food comes from potlucks to which they contribute nothing, home is where they have to take you in and try to love you.

After an initial period of closure, most in CWLF find this home evolving into a base of operations, a safe house from which you sally forth into the world, a place of meaning and rearmament from which you go to engage the culture, a source of identity. "Now that I know who I am I can do what needs to be done." When one brother found the time and space to be who he was, he began using his time in Street Theater. When another came home and stayed awhile, he ventured out as filmmaker, all-purpose handyman, political radical, and general hard worker. David and Sharon developed an understanding of themselves in terms of radical Christianity and launched effective lives editing and teaching.

Depending on when you arrived in CWLF's history or the shape of your needs, home was where you were comforted or challenged. Sometimes CWLF was a little flock in a chaotic city. If you left home briefly, it was only to pull home a few others still left in the streets. Sometimes CWLF was a center for creative ministries. Home was where you came back to at night, where you did the necessary homework in preparation for your real work in the world. For some in CWLF, especially those most sure of their Christian identity, home was not a primary locating reference at all. You visited home while in the service of your ministry, responding to the call of a somewhat different Jesus—to teach, to lead prayer, to put out a newspaper, to provide some art work, to supervise a Christian House.

Jesus—One of Us

Not long after Jack Sparks began what was to become CWLF, one of his supporters warned him that he was "losing touch with the good people of America." When Jerry, a Haight-Ashbury resident, came across the Bay Bridge to see what was happening in Berkeley a year after CWLF had begun, he became so excited that he begged Jack to take him into his home and family. "Here God showed me a group of hip Christians. Here was a little group in Berkeley—excited, overflowing, full of joy and love. It was thrilling, people of my own type, longhairs, so exciting to see that God is not abandoning the hip world. I had such a burden for the hip scene."¹³

Many of the early observers of the Jesus movement labeled it "hippies with religion." The new Jesus was revolutionary, mellow, and anti-Establishment. He practiced wine making and food distribution without a license and encouraged communal living. He was rejected by the religious professionals, a deviant discovered and embraced by deviants.

The Jesus who is one of us resonates with every attempt to feel worthwhile, to justify one's deviant path, to celebrate what others reject, and somehow, at the same time, to pay whatever debts to majority goodness and truth which are still nagging. There are also those whose sins or pasts seem too gross and for whom such a message comes as unimaginably good news. To discover this Jesus may be deliverance and salvation, theological legitimation and approval.

This Jesus functions, according to the needs of the group, as one of us versus the Establishment or as the true church versus the churches. Outside evangelical control such a Jesus could also be a Weatherman, black, bisexual, Zen, honest to God, secular, a clown, a devotee of the Old Gnosis against the scientific establishment.

Within CWLF, especially in the early years, it was enough to know he was not middle class. He was freshly stolen back from the churches, where he had been kept for years. To celebrate this Jesus was, sometimes, to celebrate oneself. He takes us as his own. We take him as our own. He is a song of ourselves. If he was good news for some desperately wishing God could understand and love them, for others he was a trophy captured by the counterculture in the contest over which was the real sacred canopy, a rival altar set up in the face of the religious establishment.

For many, he was only good news, without manipulation. The one who made people OK by being with them, who gave them a name and a significance when they came as his younger brothers and sisters into the Father's Family. As the group became more sure of itself, as the community's boundaries became certain, as the Family began to hear more of the proclamation and respond to a larger Jesus, they began to concentrate more, if one may alter Abraham Lincoln's charge, on being one of Christ's than on His being one of them.

The transition toward being one of Christ's happened as the community began to focus on Jesus as Lord. This shift in focus occurred both because at least some Jesus People were beginning to hear more

from their Bible study than at first and because leaders were beginning to urge individuals toward more group and social responsibility. The shift from the simple saying Jesus who is one of us to a larger Biblical Lord is documented in the wider Jesus movement with the appearance in 1971 of David Wilkerson's Jesus Person Maturity Manual.¹⁴ In it he called Jesus People to grow up and really change their lives—partly, of course, in the direction of Wilkerson's Jesus, the one he presents to drug addicts who come into his "Teen Challenge."

In CWLF the elders began in 1970-71 to insist on deeper Bible study and to make it clear in sermons, heart-to-heart talks, leaflets, etc. that Jesus was more than a trip, more than a bumper sticker, more than a groovy friend. Calling Jesus Lord rather than One of Us also helped the elders control those who heard different drummers or who, in the elders' view, irresponsibly threatened the life of the Family.

Jesus—Coming Soon

For a few in CWLF the bumper sticker "He ain't comin' back as a carpenter" suggests an apocalyptic hero who can provide comfort, assurance, and vindication. Apocalyptic literature is a genre devoted to the mysterious allusions to and signs of the events which will occur in the last days of world history. Or the frenzied and often impatient expectations that God will act soon to deliver his people from their circumstances. In CWLF Jesus is not predominantly symbolized as an apocalyptic hero, though a Jesus who is coming back (soon) is never out of sight. There is a significant difference between the expectations of a literal eschatology and the intense hope and demand for an immediate return of

God who will end the present age. True to its evangelical theology, CWLF preaches and expects an actual return of Christ at the end of the age.

The expectation of Jesus' imminent return in power is always strongest among those groups which are most world-rejecting. For them their new community is an emergency ark to get them through the raging waters engulfing a condemned world. Apocalyptic literature and preacher have always arisen in times of distress and hopelessness. The apocalypticist calls down not only judgment on an evil world, but God himself. The lively hope of an imminent return provides the comfort and strength to get through the present.

When CWLF preaches an actual return of Christ, it is to an age turned to nothingness, to a generation in the morass of relativism, to a Christianity which has largely given up literal eschatology. Thus CWLF reasserts a Biblical view, identifies with the early church, and in effect asserts itself. The self-consciously radical Christian lifestyle, the turn-away from much that is the world, the isolated position over against much of the Christian Church, the seeming cultural irrelevance, make sense to people who see themselves as pilgrims. The pilgrim peers harder toward the other side and thus sees more. Those whose eyes are fixed on "the things of this world" are not likely to glimpse anything or anybody on the other side. At most, if they are Christian, they may see a Christ who is immanent in loving, liberating, humanizing events or in self-actualization—all liberal code words for the essence of religion.

That Jesus is coming back soon is both the legitimation and the motivation for the stance of the Forever Family. Such a Jesus can be a great comfort when the brothers and sisters are experiencing despair or the failure of the movement, or when, in other ways, they find themselves not making it.

A Jesus who is coming back soon lifts one's movement above the vagaries of history—and above similar, rival movements—and guarantees that one's present homely shape will ultimately be made to triumph by God himself. It is good to know that what is happening in one's life and in the Family is the direct plan of God, who will soon bring his plans to a glorious close. The Jesus movement is the advance work of the Jesus who is on his way back, as the Scriptures foretell.

A Jesus who comes back in power can also become the anger writ large of a passive-aggressive personality who rages at the world and his inability to change it. "You'll see." "Wait until my Father gets back!" Barry, struggling with his ineffectiveness, dreams of the day when Jesus will come back and he will be somebody. Mike is unappreciated by the world, his gifts go unrewarded even in the CWLF community, and he is mixed up in profound ambivalence toward the sins he decries—when Jesus comes back people will see who the fool was and who the wise man was.

For only a few in CWLF, but for many more in the Jesus movement generally, the rapturous assurance that Jesus is coming soon is a substitute for the future. The only future is the return of Jesus. "It won't make a bit of difference if Jesus is coming back tomorrow, will it?"

If Jesus is a substitute for the future he can also be a deliverer from the present. Sometimes it is a deliverance one calmly waits for; sometimes a deliverance preached with frenzy. The excitement of apocalyptic certainty may be not unlike that of some radicals who thought a new American was aborning in Chicago in 1968, and that they were the midwives.

As radicals saw matters, America in June was shuddering at the epicenter of the imperialist world. America's trouble excited them. It whipped their resolve and tickled their imagination with the persistent fantasy of revolution. When the radicals went to Chicago, they really thought that they might soon be contesting for control of the United States government.¹⁵

That excitement alternated with despair, "a despair that suggested we were the first generation that could imagine declining its bid to inherit the earth."¹⁶

The alternative to that kind of revolution is that ultimate emigration, apocalyptic. Such an emigration was already practiced in the drug culture by those who dropped out of the prevailing definitions of reality and quietly or boisterously rejoiced in the truth of their own deviance. To some Jesus People it looked as if the revolution of the radicals had failed and the Lord himself was on the way.

In some ways the religion of prophecy and apocalyptic and Jesus coming back soon seem to function in place of that nearly established religion of the counterculture, astrology. Like astrology, prophecy offers a plan and makes sense of events dreadful or meaningless. History is miraculously held together in God's will. One need only labor over the grammatical entrails of recorded prophecies to divine their true meaning and how they are about to come true. Prophecy becomes

evangelical magic. Such a view, represented by Hal Lindsey's phenomenal best-seller, The Late Great Planet Earth, has few fans in CWLF. Occasionally apostles of such views come as visiting evangelists to the Family Meetings, waving newspaper clippings and proclaiming what the Lord is up to. Many listen patiently and disregard, some fervently believe and rejoice, and others can't keep back their excitement at all the things God is making happen in these last times.

For many in CWLF, especially after the early years, the expectation of a literal second coming of Christ is a part of the Biblical message they are glad to proclaim and from which they draw comfort, hope, and assurance. But this Jesus is not the one, especially in his apocalyptic dress, whose picture adorns their consciousness. When the group is creatively engaging the world, this Jesus recedes—though a returning Christ is never absent from proclamation and piety. The Jesus who makes tomorrow irrelevant, however, tends to interfere with the printers' deadlines for Right On. In 1973 David began to say in small groups and in some of his Bible studies, "I doubt that a fixation on eschatology is what we are called to today." The Jesus who may open up God's largesse by the end of the month interferes with the personal responsibility the elders are trying to inculcate in the new babes in the Lord. (Of course, that need not be so. Some rural Jesus communes which think of little else than the imminent return of Jesus invest enormous amounts of energy and hard work getting ready for him, submitting to authoritarian structures which can hasten the preparations.) For those most sophisticated theologically, a literal return of Christ is an

important part of the Christian apologetic and philosophy of life which they propose as an alternative to those which presently prevail, but the expectation of the return never becomes a substitute for apologetics or discipleship or attempts to live out a Christian life-style in ways which get the world's attention.

Other Symbols

For some in the earlier days of CWLF Jesus seemed to merge imperceptibly into the movement itself and all it came to symbolize for the new joiners. The medium was the message. In those days people streamed in following a star the media helped create, while flashy evangelists managed the crowds of wise men. Jesus was only an adjective. The movement was bigger and more exciting than Jesus. The label spread faster than the people. Germany's newspaper Die Welt once suggested the movement existed only in the papers. Many came for what looked big.

CWLF was never a movement inflated by flashy leaders. What did attract attention was the outrageous notion that God could be doing something in Berkeley. That Jesus was in Berkeley, that a movement was aborning there was message enough, as perhaps it once was message enough in New Testament times that Jesus was in Samaria.

CWLF could not but benefit from the advance men of the Jesus movement who carried eighty-pound crosses across the country and chained themselves to Sunset Strip, who found God amidst the drugs of Haight-Ashbury and the sailboats of Sausalito. The CWLF missionaries did not arrive without advance billing. But they also quickly learned their own kind of Berkeley movement lessons—how to manage events, how to make

posters that were seen by many, how to use literature in a way that suggested a large and powerful group was at work, how to out-bullhorn SDS in Sproul Plaza. When a reporter once wrote that the biggest threat to SDS was CWLF, even the brothers and sisters in the Forever Family gasped in disbelief. What had God wrought! What were they a part of?

Being part of a powerful movement is important if not essential for any true believer. The sense of a large Movement (always capitalized and referred to without adjective by leftists) had already been significant for recruiting young radicals. And evangelicals traced their entire history to revival movements and movements of the Spirit. The new believer wanted to believe he was not alone.

Probably this movement Jesus was both what the situation demanded and what at least some of the early participants in CWLF needed to get them to Jesus. People leaving behind a losing movement (hippies and drugs) found in Jesus a successful and powerful means of rejecting the past. In their new life he functioned to keep them thinking big, to hold discouragement and frustration at bay, to fire their enthusiasm. God looked to be doing something big in Berkeley; how fortunate they were to be his agents. When the day for movements passed in Berkeley, so did this Jesus. Perhaps CWLF just outgrew him. Yet even several years after those early times the news of what God is doing all over the country is often an exciting and faith-strengthening ingredient in Family worship, as brothers and sisters traveling through Berkeley come to share the news. Probably the early church, too, was excited to be a part of the movement of the Spirit described in the Book of Acts.

There is still another symbol of Jesus which only the dropouts, rejects, failures, and apostates relate to. Since they do not stay around to create images which represent them, it may be one task of the sociologist to label the direction "One Way" turned out to be for some in the Jesus movement. It is Jesus the Bumner, the shape of the movement hidden from sight, a form that has slouched off into invisibility. This is the Jesus of the back lot, dark and cold, when the tent folds and the carnival moves on. The Jesus tried and not liked. The rush of instant salvation was still one more world-breaking failure. The hip preacher jived about dropping "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John" but they were a bum trip, too. Especially for some in that motley crew first attracted off the streets into the Forever Family, Jesus was like a teenage marriage—you did it to get away from an unpleasant situation, but it soon turned out to be more than you could take. It ended in a quick divorce and left you with a spiritual hangover.

Why this failure? Jesus the Bumner simply didn't meet the needs of some, neither helping them deal with their pasts nor establish a future. Sometimes the early evangelists, especially the babes in the Lord themselves, promised too much. Jesus would make you a new person with no sweat. But it turned out he didn't keep you dry when you went without him for twenty-four hours. He was an instant withdrawal, but not a lasting one. The young disciples did not always practice truth in packaging. You came "drug-blown, pop-freaked, ego-defenseless," seeking sonship, and were turned back to slavery.

Sometimes Jesus turned out to be more than you wanted. The groovy guru but unwelcome Lord. When the call to discipleship came it looked like another authority rap. You weren't ready to settle down with this Jesus. The call to the road is still beckoning the easy rider with more trips to be taken. As the elders keep talking about your "Christian walk," the streets and the old crowd begin to look good again. James Nolan closed his article on the Jesus movement in Ramparts with a message to Jesus-boppers:

If your apocalypse does not happen on schedule, and if and when you are lemming off in some new direction, realizing the torment and difficulty of true sainthood and that salvation is not just a shot of anything away, spare us one vision: a littered, trampled post-festival shambles with Jesus Christ, a blown-out superstar, back where he started, unplugging the amps and picking up the empty dixie punch cups and sweeping up the cookie crumbs scattered by the marauding packs of crowded, lonely people—no one was saved.¹⁷

Transcending Particular Symbolization

Paul Tillich has described a "Protestant Principle" which always and everywhere calls into question all religious thought, action, and institutions. It resembles the way much Christian theology speaks of the Kingdom of God, which can never be reduced to the Church. Many Jesus People come to confess a Jesus who cannot be reduced to their symbolizations. He is the Jesus to whom the New Testament witnesses, the one never successfully caught in his disciple's descriptions or realized in their life-style.

Such a Jesus, Christians believe, comes into vision as one grows up in the faith and feels the pull of the Spirit. Social psychologists

may also suggest that Jesus gets "more" as his disciples mature or as their view of what they want out of life gets larger. That seems to accompany the fading of their initial sectarianism into a more Church-like or culture-affirming theological stance.

When brothers and sisters in CWLF come to see a Jesus larger than the one they first believed, they find their sights lifted, beyond CWLF, beyond Berkeley, beyond their current ministries, beyond their first conceptions. After three years in CWLF Susan said, "I've come to see the importance in some of the things the Church says." That was no small admission for her. Early in CWLF's history most of the Family discovered a lot more to talk about than Jesus coming back soon. Having discovered after two years that it was possible to be a Christian in Berkeley, Elizabeth moved away from CWLF and eventually got married. Bryan eventually returned to school and looked for a career in the church. David and Sharon often talked of the kinds of ministries which might take Right On away from CWLF—if CWLF did not enlarge its vision.

At the beginning of the Jesus movement many discovered that the New Testament proclamation was not hinged to the middle-class churches. Those who allowed themselves to grow or who felt called by a larger Jesus eventually concluded that Jesus is also not hinged to the Jesus movement, nor even to the countercultural style which seemed to epitomize radical Christianity for them. Most have yet to discover a Jesus who is more than a Calvinist apologetic or an Anabaptist radicalism.

Often this happens when the individual finds God rejoining him to the world. Once he devoted himself to looking at Jesus and nothing

else. Now he asks, "What does God want me to do with my life?" Jesus becomes the center of a worldview and a life-style which becomes the more inclusive the more the person grows and the more contact the person allows himself. Jesus becomes a fundamental perspective or viewpoint on reality, but reality itself is more and more engaged. Very often this happens as the result of deep Bible study and diligent searching to see where God may be calling.

For some, Christ becomes larger precisely as they follow the Pauline injunction to "bring every thought into the obedience of Christ." Jesus needs a full Christology as the mature Christian attempts to engage all of culture and build a new worldview. While it is only a few in CWLF who attempt such a thing, these attempts carry them far afield (and influence others in the fellowship)—into film reviews, into dialogue with the American Humanist Association, into courses at the Graduate Theological Union (formerly seen as a monolithic liberal conspiracy), and certainly into continuing relationships with radicals, feminists, and gay liberationists. Occasionally some of the straighter members of CWLF, especially those who had come to guide the movement in the beginning, have found it necessary to leave when this "more" became more than they could tolerate, more than they could believe of the Jesus they believed in. Sometimes this Jesus becomes the legitimation for leaving CWLF or a particular kind of ministry.

Ever since Susan announced at a Christmas retreat her struggles with being gay, the Jesus in CWLF has moved well beyond the sexless theology of fundamentalism. Shortly before leaving CWLF to take a

teaching position, David began writing that a larger Jesus coming into his view, at least, did not seem to be calling him to endless preoccupations with the second coming.

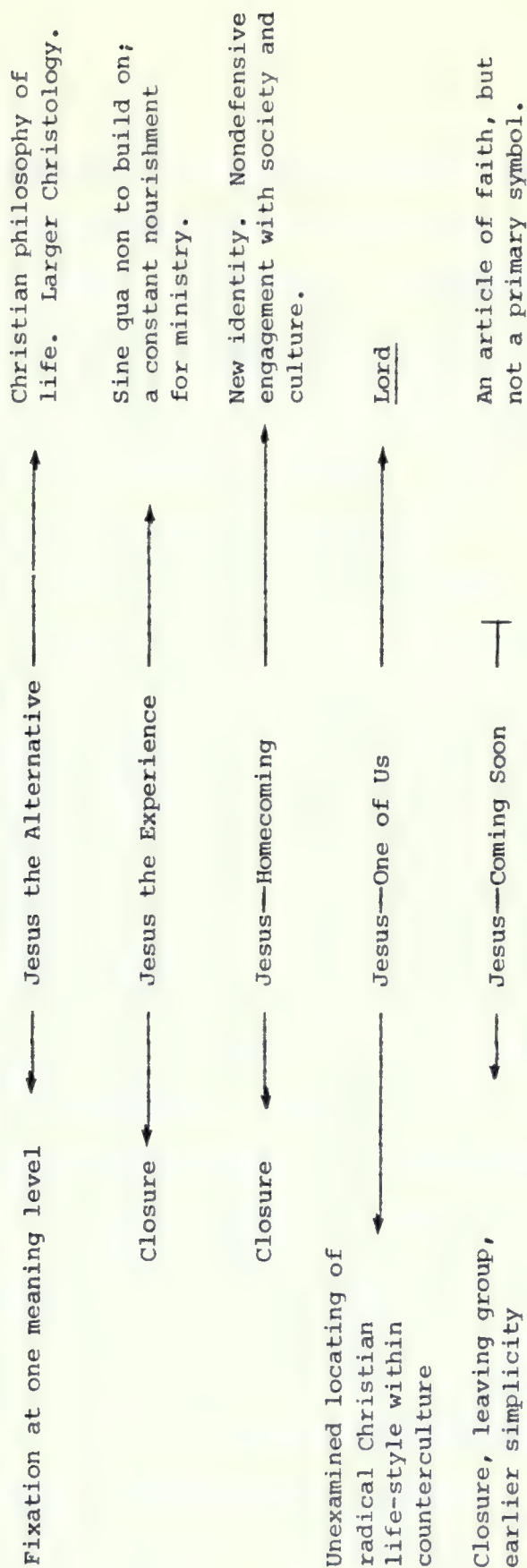
One may say that a more complex group, a family which is not homogeneous, is going to have a more complex Jesus. One may also say that the Jesus behind all symbolization will pull those who will come into richer confessions, more varied pursuits, less certainty and more inclusiveness. In other Jesus communities, certain symbols of Jesus, for example, the apocalyptic hero, are used steadily to repress the possibility of other images coming into prominence. That raises again the question of symbolization and the evolution of the group, of the varying powers of symbols, and of the rise and decline of symbols.

Conclusions

We have looked at the faces of Jesus in CWLF. Jesus has come, in the course of the group's history, to be symbolized as the Alternative, the Experience, Homecoming, One of Us, and Coming Soon. In addition, the movement itself became a primary symbol for some, and for others Jesus functioned as a bumper. Gradually, glimpses of a Jesus who transcended the group's symbolizations emerged. And always, symbols were in evolution, ascending or declining in the life of the group, varying in power, carrying and being carried in many directions.

Below is a sketch of the directions these symbolizations have moved in CWLF. Generally, an arrow to the right indicates growth, change, evolution toward greater complexity, and possibly a stronger future for

the group. That direction also carries the possibility of termination in the religious establishment and/or uncreative and uncharismatic institutionalization. An arrow to the left indicates one or more of the following for members of the group: premature closure, but continuation in CWLF; exit from CWLF to groups more congenial, e.g., rural communes; attempts, perhaps unconscious, to keep contact with the earlier naiveté and spirituality of the "hour I first believed," with the hope of sustaining nourishment from charismatic roots in a time of increasing institutionalization. The length of the arrow is meant to indicate the strength of the trend.



While much of the Jesus movement seems to have fixed on symbols which lead to closure, blissed-out rapture, and introversion, some groups, including CWLF, have seen those symbols decline. In their place is a Jesus who calls to creative, culture-engaging ministries, to deeper theological studies, and to the attempt, still halting, to fashion a Christian philosophy and life-style which will be a vigorous third way, even if only a remnant is committed to it. The latter is an attempt audacious, promising, and easily derailed.

It is one thing to fix on a Jesus whose dimensions and underpinnings are not likely to lead the group into disintegration or irrelevance. CWLF seems to have accomplished that. It is another to fix on a Jesus who does not carry the movement so rapidly or thoughtlessly into institutionalization that the original charisma is lost and there simply occurs another splinter in the sectarian establishment. We save for Chapter VII a discussion of how CWLF is faring there. Was its original charisma tied to the streets and to the atmosphere of the late sixties in which the Jesus movement first arose? Is a symbolization of Jesus (and of the group) emerging which sees the Christian walk as a creative third way whose attractive introversion will shine like a beacon to the larger society? May we expect creative breakthrough, inducements to or proleptic anticipations of societal change, new religious consciousness?

Who Is Jesus: Style

What is the theological-intellectual-cultural style surrounding the symbols of Jesus upon which CWLF came to focus? The style of ministry

certainly becomes a part of the message. Just as central symbols change, styles change. Three constants in the CWLF style are a fixation on the Bible as uniquely authoritative, a life of prayer, and a commitment to "heart religion." In transition are the meaning of "one way," the naive anti-intellectualism which only occasionally characterizes CWLF, and an interesting evangelical utilitarianism.

How Do I Know? The Bible Tells Me So!

The brothers and sisters of CWLF tend to assume that a direct return to the Jesus of the New Testament is possible and necessary. New converts discover that the Bible is thought to be God's revealed Word, uniquely and verbally inspired, the Truth. Jesus is the divine Son reliably revealed in the New Testament. The Bible tells all one needs to know, and the Jesus whom the twentieth-century believer knows in his heart is believed to be this very Jesus of the Bible, a figure of certainty and authority. Robert Ellwood has written:

The infallibility of Scripture sets the whole narrative of the Bible, for the evangelical, in a special time capsule. It happened in the course of history, but it has not been borne away on the splashing waves of the river. Instead the Bible and its time stands like a lighthouse in the midst of history. Bible time is special; it stands in equal relation to all other points in time. The evangelical is always contemporaneous with it, particularly with the time of Christ. He always wants to collapse into nothing all time between himself and the New Testament. He strives to negate all customs and attitudes which have evolved in the life of the church between then and now. He wants to walk into the time capsule which is the New Testament world, with its miracles, its expectation of an immediate end, and above all the mighty tangible presence of Jesus Christ.¹⁸

The return to the Bible is not only an inheritance from evangelism and determined by the fact that the earliest missionaries to the

Jesus movement were coming from fundamentalist-evangelical-Pentecostal traditions. The return to the Book has often been linked with a move away from something else—priests, Church, the vagaries of current theology, factionalism, failures in the spiritual life. The cry "Back to the Sources"¹⁹ may arise in any age or circle of people who are distressed, deprived, unchallenged, or unhelped by whatever has gone immediately before. To go back far enough is to rediscover life, certainty, joy, purity, the fountain of youth. Such a cry connects to the nostalgia currently engulfing America or to the good old days every age tries desperately to remember.

The Holy Book also serves what Theodore Roszak has called a "re-mythologising of men's thinking" in the sixties. If science had given this age the "myth of objective consciousness," those seeking to displace that tyranny may seek new myths or revitalization of old ones. CWLF's mission to campus was seen partly as an effort to replace that which the University and its Enlightenment children thought they had eliminated. Some of those attracted to CWLF had already been opened up to re-mythologizing by their experience of altered states of consciousness in the drug culture. They positively rejoiced in the "deviant" perspectives and worldview they found in the Bible.

In the dialogue between CWLF and the Graduate Theological Union, Jack Sparks was careful to say that CWLF and the Jesus movement had a "high" view of Scripture. This meant that the Bible is God's book, that it is verbally inspired, that it does not need to be and should not be subject to what is sometimes called "higher criticism." It is perfectly

and completely reliable. You can depend on it to tell you God's will for your life, what you should believe, who Jesus is, what God is like, etc.

The Bible is the Authority in a time of uncertain quests. No human traditions stand close to it. The view of Scripture in CWLF runs from fundamentalist to a kind of new evangelicalism which is willing to use certain tools of scholarship in Biblical study. There is no view of the Bible as the Church's book, as in Roman Catholicism, or as the cradle of Christ or witness to the Gospel, as in Lutheranism. Of course, there is no sense of the Bible as a document in the history of religions or the end result of historical-psychological-sociological processes in the early Church.

There are some elements of these views, however, though they are not recognized as coming out of particular historical-theological traditions. There is a kind of consciousness which sees the Bible as the community's book, but in the sense of constant companion and nourisher. There is also a kind of consciousness that sees the Bible as the bearer of Good News for bad situations, as a rescue operation for lost people, as hope for those in despair, as answer for those longing for certainty. In these cases the Jesus person has an existential relationship to the Bible, much like Luther's, for example. Desperate for answers or assurance, they have gone to the Bible. There they found what they were looking for. From that time on the Bible is preeminently important in their lives. It gained weight and authority from what it did for them. It is the book through which God brought them to life when they were dead.

This view of the Bible as the witness to Good News brought by God to people in a fallen world or wretched personal circumstances easily shifts to a view of the Bible as the instrument of salvation, as the source of salvation, the norm and guarantor of salvation. Nothing must be said against the Book. Some Jesus People will hold the fundamentalist domino theory—if anything were thought to be in error in that Bible, their entire coming to life might be called into question. Christianity becomes the religion of the Book. It is verifiable because the Book is dependable.

The rationale for the place of the Book in the community's life, when it is developed with some sophistication, tends to come from a conservative Calvinist apologetic. In the January 1972 issue of Right On David wrote an article: "Quotations from Chairman Jesus, or, Why Our Worldview Is Based on the Bible." He mentions the beginning of CWLF in Berkeley. Some brothers and sisters "discovered a book, a source, which provides a valid and workable basis for a new life." The decision to follow that source came because of overwhelming experiential and historical evidence. "The past three years have proven to us time and again that the Scriptures are uniquely able to solve our hassles and questions and provide a basis for meaningful and joyful new life."

Jesus People in CWLF are not averse to critical Bible study if it is defined properly. They accept certain kinds of "criticism." At a workshop in 1972 one speaker urged Bible students to work hard and pray for the Spirit. "You don't take a pill at night with your prayer and wake up in the morning a Bible scholar." He suggested studying the Bible

historically (events against their historical background), biographically, doctrinally, and inductively (beginning from the straight message of a given text). He suggested five steps for the Bible student: observe, interpret, summarize, evaluate, apply. He noted his frustration with many Jesus People who want to begin with the fifth step. "When I did a study of 1 Peter at my house meeting, people nearly died before we could get to the application." Under the fourth step, evaluation, the speaker suggested some questions: "Was the author successful in getting his message across? Is the message culturally conditioned? How does this bear on my understanding of other texts? Don't just take one passage and run with it."

Another speaker at that workshop said he felt the three most important books in the New Testament were Romans, Ephesians, and John, in that order. He thought a Bible student should be equipped with diligence, exposure to literature and current events, and good tools. He suggested the Revised Standard Version and the Jerusalem Bible as the two best English versions. (This speaker was Larry, who was speaking more from his evangelical Presbyterianism than from the context of the Jesus movement.) "The King James Version has more errors per square inch than any other translation. Put it back on the shelf if you want to do serious Bible study. If you insist on using it, I'll pray for you." Clearly the favorite version among the group at the workshop was the New American Standard Bible, a very popular version among American fundamentalists and evangelicals.

Such attitudes as these two do not represent the majority in CWLF. Many continue day-by-day Bible study which they take seriously but which in one sense, at least, is not serious Bible study. It is study born out of their own life experiences and needs. They do not cease to address the Bible with the questions arising from their life situations, and they fully expect answers to those questions—and receive them. Such expectations make Scripture (and religion) highly functional.²⁰

CWLF brothers and sisters do not tend to be "Bible-beaters" or "Bible-pounders." There is no hardsell in CWLF ministries. CWLF people take a mellow approach and tend to be wary of laying trips on people. They are embarrassed by the campus preachers who assault their audiences while waving the Bible. Even the standard practice of winning an argument by a clincher Bible verse is uncommon except with a few in CWLF.

Liberal theologians often insist that Christianity is not a religion of the "holy book" dropped down from heaven—in the sense of the Koran or the Book of Mormon. They disclaim any magical properties for the Bible and insist it should not be used in magical ways. It is not difficult to find practices among Jesus People bordering on magic with respect to the Bible. There are reports of Jesus People (not in CWLF) who "cut" the Bible as one would cut a deck of cards. What opens up is God's Word for that person for that situation. Perhaps a few brothers and sisters in CWLF may do this in private. This kind of use of the Bible has a long tradition. Fundamentalists in the Bible Belt

and a thousand rural areas were cutting their Bibles in expectation of direct messages from God long before Jesus People thought to do it.

When it happens in the youth culture, however, one can scarcely avoid comparing it to practices among non-Christian groups. In I Ching one can toss yarrow stalks or three coins and be led to a chapter in the Book of Changes which will be the most appropriate for your particular need. The sixty-four chapters in the book will cover all the possibilities. There are also tarot cards and astrology.

Jesus People are accustomed to speaking to God and fully expect God to speak to them. A favorite song is "Have you ever heard God speaking to you?" To personalize the message God speaks through the Bible one may be led to cut the Bible and hear God's direct message for one's life. Dramatic religious conversions and peak experiences from Augustine to Wesley have been connected with just such a use of the Bible.

I Talked to Him This Morning

Billy Graham answered the Death of God movement: "I know he's not dead, I talked to him this morning." If the Jesus movement has a sacrament it is undoubtedly prayer. It is the one thing without question all Jesus People do regularly, the chief expression of their Christian life. Prayer in private and in public, prayer for themselves and for the brothers and sisters, prayer for those in the world not yet Christians. The Family probably comes closer than most Christian groups to Paul's exhortation: "Pray without ceasing" (Eph. 6:18).

Prayer is the chief expression of their relationship to God, how they construct the world, how they view the brothers and sisters,

how they think about life and their own lives in particular. Prayer is the means whereby every thought is "brought into captivity to Jesus Christ" and every aspect of life is brought within the boundaries of a religious perspective. In prayer the boundary between sacred and secular is erased. All concerns and all issues are brought into a religious worldview. The brother mentioned in Chapter IV who wanted a Christian optometrist was simply expressing outwardly the way his prayer life works.

Prayer is never discussed as a problem. How can modern man pray? What is it correct to pray about, if one prays? Is prayer really only . . . ? Prayer is self-evident. People pray if they are Christians. They pray to the Father who brought them miraculously into his Family. Whatever passes before the eyes, whatever is a hassle, whatever there is to be thankful for, whoever needs help, whatever direction is sought, when things seem hopeless, when people are wept over—all these turn into prayer. Prayer is at least as significant in any public gathering of Jesus People as Bible study, and often takes as much time. There are prayer cards, prayer groups, prayer chains, prayer meetings, prayer letters. There is prayer without ceasing.

One Way!

The most well-known slogan from the Jesus movement is "One Way," usually accompanied by a gesture in which the index finger is pointed upward to God. The One Way mentality is the one thing about Jesus People that some find most engaging and others most irritating. The One Way mentality has been called simplistic. It is not uncommon.

To solve human problems and indeed the human dilemma in a single-minded way is nothing new. To the nagging question of the times Jesus People have given the answer, "God," the human potential movement has answered, "Maslow" or "Perls," and the radicals, "Marx." Such single-mindedness can also be observed in the women's movement and among ethnic movements. While the new fundamentalisms may be most conspicuous on the esoteric religious scene, classical true believership can be found in every scene and at every period of history.

The sophisticated Jesus person knows these criticisms and is sensitive to the suggestion that he is one of many current quests for certainty turned into a fad when someone found an answer that worked for him. He argues that he has in fact met Jesus Christ, God's Son, that his life has been radically changed, turned around, and that all this is witnessed to by an infallible Bible which is the very revelation of the God of the universe. He may or may not try to prove this to you. He will definitely invite you to end your search and let God in Jesus be your Answer, too. See if it isn't so! The "I know" of his subjective experience is immune to the attacks of rationalist critics and the charges of relativism.

The hope, the desperate hope, that there must be something which is beyond everything else, which is qualitatively different resonates through much of the youth culture, especially amidst the apparent failure of political action and amidst those who never had the energy for political action. Roszak notes:

When the New Left calls for peace and gives us heavy analysis of what's what in Vietnam, the hippy quickly translates the word into shantih, the peace that passes all understanding, and fills in the

psychic dimensions of the ideal. If investigating the life of shantih has little to do with achieving peace in Vietnam, perhaps it is the best way of preventing the next several Vietnams from happening.²¹

The Jesus People are certain they have found that "peace which passes all understanding" (Phil. 4:7), and shout out the One Way they have discovered. The Jesus People joined the war marches and the poverty marches, they went to the debates on campus regarding child care, welfare, and militarism. Some of those who write for Right On, for example, might well echo Roszak's rhetorical question:

Will it be a victory, then, or a defeat for the counter culture when the black man has at last fought his way clear of desperate expedients and wrings from the Great Society the white man's legal equivalent of looting: a steady job, a secure income, easy credit, free access to all the local emporiums, and his own home to pile the merchandise in?²²

Given the joy of that new certainty, that utter salvation the Jesus person has discovered and come to know, it is not surprising that the Truth of it all, Jesus, engages him at every level of life and at every level of explanation about the problems of life. What engages the Jesus person as ultimate concern, in Tillich's phrase describing the essence of religion, is the ultimate Answer to the human dilemma which they see God giving in the person of Jesus—an Answer they rejoice to share with the world, an Answer which must not be compromised in any syncretist blend with all the other ideas afloat in the culture, even the counter-culture. The Truth of One Way is there and the whole of the Jesus person's being warms to it. A new self comes into being which is a celebration of the Truth in Jesus. The Jesus person conforms his life to the One Way. Had not Paul written to the early Christians, "Be not

conformed to the world, but be transformed by the renewing of your minds" and "If any man is in Christ he is a new creation"? Only when this has happened, only when the One Way has been recognized, experienced, and worshipped ultimately will all those other things in the Kingdom "be yours as well" (Matt. 6:33). Jesus People in CWLF agree with Roszak's comment about the meaninglessness of even the best things "in the absence of a transcendent correspondence,"²³ though they would flesh out that symbolic language with the person of Jesus. Some Jesus People are capable of an excitement about life and a vigorous engagement of life which really sees all creation waking up for the first time to rebirth—a rebirth visible only from the perspective of one's own rebirth in Jesus.

Jesus People often talk about the God-shaped box in their hearts. Life is empty, all of it, until that box is filled. Nothing is true until the Truth lives there. Jesus People think they have the Answer to that longing for fulfillment and purpose which Roszak writes about so eloquently:

[Even the greatest technological achievements] leave ungratified that dimension of the self which reaches out into the world for enduring purpose, undying value. That need is not some unfortunate psychic liability left over from the infancy of the race which we ought now to outgrow. It is, rather, the emotional reflection in mankind of that intentional thrust we can find in the most basic organic stuff, in the purposeful action of the protein matter that toils away in every cell of our being. How can we help but to be creatures in search of value and meaning? Not the tiniest micro-particle of us but throbs with a lively need to work out its destiny. At the level of mind, that need becomes like an organ of sense, as eager to know its proper object as the eye to know light, the flesh to know touch. And that object is the reality of transcendent symbols.²⁴

Others would argue that the great One Way has no such effect on Jesus People. There is no abundant life at all, but a sectarian narrowness, a joy that is ascetic, world denial, and attitudes of judgment and legalism. Peter Marin suggests the Jesus cults "are in reality an ironic extension of what Henry Miller once called the 'universe of Death,' the grid of compulsive moral abstractions that separates us from experience. . . . We use our spirituality . . . as a defense against life. [It offers us] an end not only to pain, age, and death but also to the complexities of 'personhood.'"²⁵ He believes the new Christianity is "merely another shape of our habitual cultural rejection of the truth of our own lives."²⁶ Mysticism and nationalism are forms of the same evasion, the same panicked impulse.²⁷

There is no one truth about the One Way mentality. For some it is repressive, for others abundant. One Way can by definition never receive a sympathetic understanding among those who theologically are "universalists" or historically and philosophically are "relativists." Beyond that, there will be those Jesus People whose One Way seems winsome and refreshing, even if one disagrees, and those whose One Way seems self-righteous and legalistic, even if one agrees. One may assume that there may be some Jesus People who assert the One Way with a revolutionary naiveté. They have been around, they know the problems, and they find Christianity the most satisfying answer, an answer which they are able to discuss with freshness, vigor, and openness. To be sure, this naiveté, in Ricoeur's terms, is primary not secondary. They are not playfully choosing one Answer to live by among many valid ones. One

thing they are joyously but seriously certain about: apart from Christ man is one-dimensional.

Thank You, Jesus

"Thank you Jesus" may be an ecstatic expression of joy or a covert exclamation of relief that I don't have to use my mind anymore. It is a phrase uttered with joyful naiveté and willful simplicity. Many Jesus People have never been intellectual and could not make it as intellectuals; their life in the movement is simply an ongoing expression of that posture. For some, a slight anti-intellectualism is a healthy reaction to theological jargon and intellectualized religion devoid of warm experience. For others, perhaps Jack Sparks, a slight anti-intellectualism suggests the decisive turn away from the academic scene and a determination to stay away from it because it is "all dust." For some with roots in the counterculture anti-intellectualism is really an irrationalism valued for its own sake. Such irrationalism has connections with the supposed revival of romanticism, it is a flower waved in the face of a technological age.

For some Jesus leaders anti-intellectualism is a convenient means of making up for lack of academic legitimation. For many Jesus People it is the inevitable result of the conclusion that all seminaries and all theologians have denied the faith. Anti-intellectualism sometimes goes hand in hand with an apocalyptic which has already substituted the second coming of Christ for a future of wrestling with the human dilemma—even if you have the Answer. CWLF officially and Right On in particular utterly disclaim any anti-intellectualism and commit themselves to the

use of the mind in the Christian life. This has been an easier approach for Right On to take now that it is no longer a paper of the streets.

Try It, You'll Like It!

The presentation and defense of the faith may range from a hand-distributed copy of something like the Four Spiritual Laws to Right On's column about the necessity of a historical and existential faith, from a personal "Why Don't You Look into Jesus?" to a sophisticated dialogue. But there is a strong tendency toward a utilitarian approach. Jesus works. "This is what Jesus has done in my life. He can do it in yours too. Just try it. You have nothing to lose."

The image occasionally approaches that of the frontier medicine man who has a tonic appropriate to nearly anything that ails the prospective buyer. Such a religion has an ad hoc quality to it and is always in danger of being reductionist. Too much of what religion can be is allowed to escape. The power in religion to revolutionize a person or society, to carry them to new heights of achievement for God or people, to motivate heroic, selfless striving tends to stay far out of view. A religion that is useful is too easily subverted into hedonism or various kinds of personal agendas.

Yet the utilitarian approach may be only a first step. The Jesus Saves step. We have seen that not far behind that step, at least in CWLF, has come the Jesus as Lord who calls people to discipleship and service. When that step does not come, utilitarian religion, whether of the evangelistic or Norman Vincent Peale variety, too easily lends itself to nothing other than self-actualization without dimensions of

transcendence. Rev. Ike is one example. Some of Abraham Maslow's disciples are another. CWLF has escaped most of the American acculturation which clings to so much utilitarian evangelism. The reason is probably more in their countercultural pasts than in any more profound Bible study on their part. Alienation from current American values and the American system predisposes them eventually to include that very prophetic voice which utilitarian religion tends to exclude.

In Your Heart, You Know Him

Bryan Wilson suggests that every new sect produces an essential answer to the question, "What must I do to be saved?" One answer is "heart religion." No priest, no ritual, no social reformation may be substituted for the individual change of heart, the individual and personal invitation to God through Jesus to come into one's life, the individual and personal relationship with a personal God, the individualized decision for Christ.

Heart religion is highly personalized, warmly bracing, full of emotion, joyful. There is a natural spilling over into witness to others and sharing of the faith. The believer is always conscious of something personal that has happened to him, something that can be shared—"What the Lord has done in my life." This salvation is only remotely a body of doctrines which one spends one's energy believing. Yet, if one asks about doctrine, this heart religion believer is orthodox and accepts as literally true Biblical affirmations about the "fundamentals."

The salvation of heart religion is never expressed in such shorthand phrases as belonging to or joining a church or accepting a given creed or standing in a theological tradition or by certain religious practices or ritual. The only expression for this salvation is "coming to the Lord." Other phrases would be "gave my life to Christ," "accepted the Lord," "made my decision," "invited Jesus into my life."

Such expressions arise from experiences of conversion and personal experiences of God's presence and direction. These experiences get sedimented into the language of evangelism and devotion. When someone comes into the Jesus movement, hears such language, and begins using it, he is acting out a definition of salvation as heart religion and reinforcing it in his own consciousness. If he has been a Christian before, of a non-heart religion variety, he may consciously adapt his old religious language to the language common to his new group. It is less likely that he will go on using different (opposing) religious language. He may feel social sanctions, real or imaginary, or some vague "we don't use that kind of language in this family" sense. The more he uses such language the more likely he is to experience the experiences which have been sedimented in such language. If he lives in more than one religious language world, he may sometimes lose track of which world he is in and forgetfully use the language of one in the other—like the man who calls his wife by his girl friend's name. The religious circles which never use the language of heart religion are quite simply not likely to have the kinds of experiences which that language conveys. If someone enters such a non-heart religion circle but has had heart

religion experiences in the past, he may either continue to use his heart religion language or adapt himself to the language of the new group. If he does the latter, he may either continue as a closed heart religionist or, perhaps more likely, soon cease having such experiences—because he is regularly using a language which has no way of expressing them.

In heart religion the will of the person is of crucial importance. It is assumed both that the will stands against God and separates one from God and that the will is free and may make a decision for God and his will for one's life. In conversion something crucial happens to the will. This may be described in seemingly contradictory ways. One abandons one's will, stops resisting, lets the Lord take over. Many personal testimonies tell of this event. "I realized I couldn't do it. I just gave up and turned my life over to the Lord. Here, Lord, you'll have to take over." One of the Right On articles quoted above pictured coming to the Lord as the end of continued spiritual searching, not the end result, but the termination of. Christianity is a new way, not the end result of the old way. "You can stop searching. God has found you."

But one may also emphasize the free, will-ing decision. "I invited Jesus into my life. I made a decision for Christ." This is the ultimate decision, the preeminently spiritual act of the will.

The natural accompaniment to this emphasis on will is the strong emphasis on one's "walk" in the Lord—which usually means one's personal ethic. It was precisely the willful inviting Christ into one's life and the willful walking in his will which were combined in the theology of John Wesley and early Methodism. Wesley was convinced that the Lutheran

talk about the bondage of the will (in an effort to magnify God's absolute grace and the objectivity of salvation and justification) could and did short circuit the emphasis on sanctification, the fruits of the Christian life, the seriousness of the Christian walk.²⁸

Heart religion, the invitation to Jesus to take over one's life as the central act of conversion, and a personal and prayerful relation to the Father are scarcely typical of all American Christianity. Significant religious rituals, such as infant baptism and going to Mass, will be of much greater importance for many Roman Catholics, though "charismatic renewal" Catholics know a good deal about heart religion and personal religious fervor. For many American Protestants, the preeminent ingredients in the religious life and in salvation might be right doctrine, church membership, having the baptism of the Spirit, being responsible citizens or good people, church orders, Christianizing society, commitment to humanization, being American,²⁹ etc. One father interviewed in connection with the Jesus movement said, "I sent my daughter to Sunday School to make her a better person, not to get her sold out for Jesus." When Billy Graham writes that one of the ten marks of the Jesus movement (he places it third) is "the demand for an experience with Jesus Christ,"³⁰ he is certainly allying the Jesus movement with himself, but not with all of American Protestantism by any means.

Who Is Jesus: Structure

To what are the disciples of Jesus called? What is the shape of the family that grows up around heart religion? What do these followers of Jesus think they should be doing in the world? Has the community developed a stance vis-à-vis the world?

The Family

A central reality for new Christians in the Jesus movement is that family of brothers and sisters who brought them to Christ and who will nourish and sustain them for a short or long time. If the community should cease to exist, many of these new Jesus People would cease to exist—as new Christians. Should the community become an unmended net, they will drop like fish through the holes. If the community remains strong and together, they will have a chance to learn what a Christian family is. They will get the chance to become strong and grow up in their new faith.

Classical theological discussions of the doctrine of the church (ecclesiology) often mention the "marks of the church." Depending on the tradition, these marks may include a clergy with apostolic succession, the correct administration of the sacraments, the true preaching of the Gospel, a visible sign in the Bishop of Rome, a born-again community under the sign of the believer's baptism, holiness, etc. Perhaps the central mark of the Christian community for Jesus People is the presence of a caring group of brothers and sisters who sustain and nourish one another, who minister to one another. One might call that the priesthood

of all believers, but only rarely in church history, outside the monastic orders, has that expression come to be experienced as each Christian ministering to and praying for the other. Jesus People often call such a group the Family, or simply "the brothers and sisters."

The Family may be that fellowship in which one first came to the Lord or the group toward which one somehow gravitated in a given locality. There is the assumption that wherever one goes, and there is considerable mobility among Jesus People, one will somehow link up with local Christian brothers and sisters. In the summer of 1973 several brothers and sisters laid hands on a Puerto Rican brother who was flying to Barcelona the following day for several months of Spanish mission work. Prominent among the words spoken over him was the prayer that he would immediately be led to discover a community of believers in Barcelona, "for we know that we cannot make it on our own." The flavor of those prayers, envisaging countless local churches raised up by God to contain the believers he is calling to himself, is one the Jesus movement may share with the early church as recorded in the Book of Acts.

The notion of "body life" is very important to the members of the Christian Family. The term comes from a popular book,³¹ read by several in CWLF, by Pastor Ray Stedman of the Peninsula Bible Church in Palo Alto. Based loosely on the epistle to the Ephesians, the book argues for a Christian community that is full of life, intensity, spiritual gifts, mutual support, and the Spirit.

When thoughtful people in the Jesus movement, particularly in CWLF, seek assurance for their position or answers to their critics in

the established churches, they often turn in the direction that reformers or revolutionaries in all periods of the Church have turned—the Holy Spirit. "The Spirit blows where it wills," Jesus told Nicodemus (John 3:8). Jesus People leaders became convinced that the Spirit may need to go outside the walls to get people on the move again. Those interested in prophecy are certain the Jesus movement is one manifestation of God's pouring out his Spirit on all flesh in the latter days (Joel 2:28).

So-called (by the Establishment) Enthusiasts (Schwaermer) in every age have looked to the Spirit for legitimation for their departures from tradition. When early missionaries to the youth culture came to make Christ an issue, they invoked the guidance and leading of the Spirit, for they were departing from old ways and often from established Christian organizations.

Once the departure is successful and begins to be institutionalized, however, the Spirit may be reined in. In the early Church the Spirit had eventually to be tied to the office of Bishop to keep things from getting out of hand. In a CWLF workshop in 1972, Larry carefully tied the work of the Spirit to the whole community and made it clear that the Spirit does not come upon one member of the community in isolation. (Enthusiasts who thought the Spirit was an individualist tended to give the elders problems.) In the summer of 1973 when the director of Street Theater, Frank, awoke at 3 a.m. to hear God telling him to take over the office of business manager vacated when Larry was dismissed, at least one person, with a long background in the political movement,

objected. "We should be wary anytime someone feels led by the Spirit into a position of status. Why not bring this before the group, the community, and let us who are also in the Spirit confirm or disconfirm the way you feel the Spirit leading you?"

In many ways the family of brothers and sisters is simply a lived expression of what many Jesus People have wanted, longed for. The new community answers the dreams of the past and is the fresh alternative to what they have come to reject. Ecclesiology has been called "doctrine worked out sociologically." What Jesus People need, what they believe they have found, what shaped their new experience in Christ and indeed was the midwife for it, what Jesus comes to mean as he takes on the flesh of the brothers and sisters, in his Body—is the Christian community. It is God's answer for their lives worked out in social terms, it is heart religion taking on a corporeal dimension. In this community Jesus People see things happening, God doing his work, promises coming true.

Theodore Roszak has written about the community he sees coming into being: "There is a visionary commonwealth already in our midst, and one need not look far to find it in one form or another."³² He sounds like Jesus proclaiming to the multitudes, "The Kingdom of God is among you." He continues:

None of these experiments began because people discovered the ground plan for a new social order. Rather, they started with something else that lent the impossible complexity of the revolution a startling simplicity. They did not start with people asking, how do I save the technology? but with the more pertinent question, how do I save my soul? When that question has been pressed to the deepest level of the self, then—

suddenly—we are at the threshold of a new reality where the necessities and inevitabilities of the technocratic society look a good deal less commanding.³³

What Is the Family To Do in the World?

The Question of Social Ethics

The development of some kind of social ethic within CWLF has taken place against the general assumptions of a "heart religion," which always emphasizes the priority of individual conversion, and against a narrower Anabaptist tradition. Always among American fundamentalists and evangelicals has there been an emphasis on the absolute necessity and priority of individual conversion, "changed hearts," before one could talk about changing society. "The problem is in the heart of man not in the social system." That emphasis is not unique to Billy Graham, but his preaching has been the most popular exposition of it in recent decades. Anabaptist intentionalism and separatism have been much less in the mainstream of American Protestantism. Small, almost esoteric, groups of Plymouth Brethren and their like have kept it alive, and a strong tradition of historical scholarship in the Mennonite tradition has been especially important. The two editors of Right On both stand within this tradition and their influence in CWLF has been significant.

Curiously, the social Gospel movement of the early decades of this century made a similar emphasis in social ethics, though with a quite different theological base. Presenting itself as an alternative to socialism or as a Christian socialism, the movement was insistent on translating its gospel into social concern and action. All but a few of the social gospelers, however, spent themselves in moral

exhortation. They believed warmed hearts would change societal conditions. Christianity was not working because it had not really been tried. Individual hearts had to be changed and challenged. When fundamentalists and evangelicals made this claim, they were connecting it to a "blood atonement," an infallible Bible, a conversion experience, and a divine Christ, and the expression of their social concerns never achieved the scope or intensity of the social gospel movement.

From the fundamentalist-evangelical tradition, then, comes a social ethic based on individual conversion. The question of a social ethic for the "world" is rarely raised. It is a Christian social ethic and it is a social ethic for Christians only, as it were. From the Anabaptist tradition has come a strong emphasis on the church as a voluntary-intentional community, on the continuing validity and applicability of the Sermon on the Mount as the basis for a social ethic, on rigorous discipleship, on an absolute separation between the Kingdom of God, in which the Christian lives, and the kingdom of the world, and on the return of Christ.

Several selections from Right On suggest work toward a social ethic from within this context. The February 1972 issue had a letter from a reader asking for help on a term paper he was writing: "The Christian and his impact on reforming the social order." The editors' reply would enrage radicals, if they read the paper, and does not so much present a position in social ethics as deny one.

When we look at the life of Jesus, we see that He spent much of His time ministering to the personal needs of the people around Him. He usually avoided direct political confrontation—as when the issue of taxation was thrown at Him. . . .

Getting tangled in the political hassles would have side-tracked Jesus and His followers from the mission of redemption and reconciliation; it would have alienated a lot of people He loved and came to save. As it was, Jesus served both the supporters of the Roman regime and those who opposed it. . . .

However, it is obvious that the Christian ethic "Love your neighbor as yourself" has tremendous social implications and will influence political behavior. Consider Reformation Switzerland and the Netherlands, anti-slave trade and anti-slavery movements in Britain and America, and the pioneering work in humane care of orphans by George Mueller of England last century. Imagine the impact of factory owners acting on the principle of loving the workers as themselves!

The editors then mention Isaiah's strictures against the rich who oppress the poor and Jesus' admonition after the Good Samaritan story to go and do likewise. "We are responsible before God, then, for our personal, social, and political actions, and ask Him for wisdom in best using our energies."

The answer takes a position Billy Graham has argued repeatedly to defend himself against his critics: "the essential spiritual mission of the Gospel will be side-tracked if I begin taking political sides." There is an unwillingness either to accept as the task of a social ethic the working out of a critical analysis of society and social-economic structure, especially class, or even to engage the social-political scene except via individual acts of ethical concern. While CWLF is decidedly unfriendly to Billy Graham's tacit acceptance of the status quo (in one staff meeting in 1973 an angry brother took up a great deal of time reading an entire article from Graham's paper Decision which had irritated him), this article would seem to fall within the Graham way of doing (or not doing) social ethics. It evokes precisely the dangers of tacit acceptance of the status quo. "Not to decide is to decide." The latent

strength of the position, but a strength which is not developed at all, nor argued for, and hence lost, is its insistence that a Christian prophetic critique will always stand over all parties and all movements.

The January 1972 Right On featured an article entitled "Strategy for Social Change." The author argues for a Christian strategy of "infiltration" as a third alternative to the institutional reformers and those who favor violence. Christians can change the direction of society by acquiring "the controls of the power structure through infiltration."

There is an Infiltrator, whom you have undoubtedly heard about but whom you probably have never seriously considered. He works for the best for all mankind when He is allowed the slightest entrance. He is the Liberator. You see, no matter how skilled we may be in acquiring power and bringing about revolution, we too are susceptible to the works of "the flesh" such as malice, greed, power-tripping, etc. Jesus the Liberator can infiltrate the hearts and souls of any and all mankind.

While the Christian should explore all avenues of social change, his ultimate strategy is to "work for Jesus the Liberator, to present Him to people in (and out of) power with a prayer that He will transform their lives and thence their programs."

To some this will seem obvious, and to others a destructive platitude. The Christian realism in social ethics which began in the 1930s with Reinhold Niebuhr wanted to be realistic in its analysis of the power situation in American society and hence refused to build an ethic on the tired line "Christianity hasn't worked because it hasn't been tried." The social ethic they build for the world would not depend on the moral commitment of Christians. An important but oft-neglected issue here is that evangelical Christians do not necessarily disagree

with such a Niebuhrian social ethic. They simply do not see it as their task to build it. So convinced are they of the necessity of conversion on the one hand and the hopelessness of human solutions on the other that they find it meaningless to talk about ethics except in terms of born-again Christians. If they are accused of abandoning the world, as they always are, they point to their unexcelled missionary activity which they believe is the ultimate and the only way to save the world.

A social ethical position which cannot be accused of lack of sophistication or pedigree argues for a Christian "intentional community." In A Survey of Christian Ethics,³⁴ Edward Long describes three strategies for implementing ethical decision. One is the "intentional" motif. The others are the institutional approach, connected with classical Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, and the operational approach especially apparent in the school of Christian Realism. It would seem the institutional and operational motifs are "church-type" and the intentional motif "sect-type."

The intentional position has been represented by monasticisms, sectarian movements, reforming core groups, and special groups seeking certain ends outside the normal scope of the church. The intentionalist may seek "a heroic ethic, a demanding morality, and the satisfaction attending the performance of special duties."³⁵ They often look upon the age of persecution as a golden age because during it "the gulf between church and culture which marks the suffering, outcast church in a hostile world"³⁶ was most obvious.

The intentionalist is usually concerned about devotion. He tends to be more worried by apathy than by injustice. He believes that spiritual wholeness is the prerequisite for health, even for serving the world. He tends to cultivate inner conviction before advocating outward action. He finds the company of the small dedicated group essential to the cultivation of conviction and the intensification of zeal. He cherishes the unique moral visibility of Christians, a visibility standing in contrast to the moral timidity of the world.³⁷

Long's reason for choosing the term "intentional" is convincing enough to retain the term in this discussion. "Withdrawn" does not adequately cover groups which are quite service-centered. "Purist" is too broad for groups which are uncompromising about only selected issues. "Monastic" has special reference to vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. "Separatist" implies complete world denial. The infrequent use of the term "intentional" has kept it from acquiring too many prior connotations.³⁸

Often such an intentionalist attempt arises from a small fellowship of concern. Olive Wyon has written about the revitalization movements in the churches of Europe:

In every case, this "new life" emerges from a praying group: whether it is called a "community" or a "company" or a "team." In other words, the "living water" comes from Christ himself, where two or three meet in his name—and where, as in the first community of Jerusalem, they remain steadfastly together in faith and fellowship, in sacramental life and prayer.³⁹

Very much the same could be said for the origins of CWLF, when three men met in Los Angeles to pray about the youth scene and the development of a ministry in Berkeley.

I do not suggest that CWLF has a carefully thought-out intentional position in social ethics, but some more thoughtful members of CWLF are moving in that direction. The best statement of such a position by a

CWLF "intellectual" appeared in the July 1972 Right On as its lead article.

The author begins emphasizing the ambiguity of revolution. "A new group rips off power from the old regime and basic conditions remain unchanged." The real Establishment for all people to fight is "the invisible system of rip-off, extortion, and exploitation, with the absolute principle of violence as its backbone." This is the invisible establishment which characterizes the Left and the Right. Thus violence is always reactionary. Significant change will not come from the top down, neither from alteration of structure nor destruction of it. What is needed is the injection of a new principle within the closed world system. For escape from the dilemma, the vertical (spiritual) dimension is critical. "Radical change must come from the bottom up—through the establishment of alternative life-styles which are based upon a new concept of community and human relationships." The cross of Christ is the key to True Revolution."

The Cross as a revolutionary reality ended not in defeat, but in victory (the Resurrection); it declares that the victory of violent power is an illusion, and that suffering love is more powerful than torturing hatred. A single life made new by the love of Christ and lived in the power of God is itself a witness that a man need not be defined by his external situation, that he can live on the basis of new possibilities, that he no longer need be controlled by the socio-economic forces around him. The impact of the resurrection has been to de-fatalize the world and de-sanctify the powers that be. To say that Jesus is Lord is to say that Caesar and the President are not.

The radical gospel proclaims not only that a Revolution of Love is possible, but that it has come. It means that a man cannot bring in the kingdom by his own works; he can only live the light of the revolution that has already taken place in Christ. . . . We are not called to make a sick world well; we are called to live well. That is a powerful political act in itself. In the final analysis, it means being the revolution.

A certain tone in this article, and especially the closing sentence, will sound similar to one direction the cultural revolution on the Left has taken. Jerry Rubin, for example, could and did utter almost precisely the same statement as the last two sentences. Such a viewpoint will also have affinity to Charles Reich's "consciousness three." Both the emphasis to "be the revolution" and the insistence on a change of consciousness preceding all other changes are the currency of the day. The author, of course, grounds this change of consciousness and the power to be the revolution in the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ. If some on the Left emphasized "organizing around your oppression" and seemed to find precisely in their alienation their ultimate resource for action, this kind of Christian position looks to the death and rebirth of self effected via a personal relationship with the Christ through whose dying and rising God set about to effect change and recall people to their intended humanity.

Criticism of this position is not unlike the criticism which surrounded the appearance of Charles Reich's The Greening of America.⁴⁰ Time magazine called the book "a colloidal suspension of William Buckley, William Blake and Herbert Marcuse in pure applesauce."⁴¹ Reich is a true believer in the effective power of "consciousness three" the way Jesus People are true believers in the effect of individual conversions. Reich writes: "A change of consciousness must precede a new and enlarged understanding of our society."⁴² Once that happens, once the self is recovered, "the power of the Corporate State will be ended, as miraculously as a kiss breaks a witch's evil enchantment."⁴³

Reich writes words that could easily be put into the mouth of those few in CWLF who worry about what Establishment theologians and religionists think:

To the sincere and dedicated liberal or radical, especially the one who has spent many years, perhaps his whole life, in battling for liberty and against the State, the idea that massive, authoritarian power can best be fought by changing one's own life must seem puny and absurd. It must seem like lying down in front of a tank, or, worse yet, the weak and watery moralism of some frightened, timid, sycophantic preacher who enjoins us to reform ourselves while, outside, rampant evil rages unchecked. It is difficult for anyone who believes in action and social responsibility not to feel this; but even the most courageous battle is senseless if it mistakes the source of evil. We must answer the doubters by saying that their methods have failed and failed and failed, and that only changing one's own life confronts the real enemy.⁴⁴

A few pages later he writes lines very similar to those at the end of the Right On article quoted above: "The only way to destroy the power of the Corporate State is to live differently now."⁴⁵ And a few pages later he writes what has appeared in countless Jesus periodicals, words that people in CWLF have spoken to a hundred Berkeley radicals: "The enemy is within each of us; so long as that is true, one structure is as bad as another."⁴⁶ If the point is still unclear, Reich writes in italics: "*All that is necessary to describe the new society is to describe a new way of life.*"⁴⁷ If Reich and Raszak psychologize the revolution, Jesus People theologize it. Their theology is a change of heart by personal relationship with God theology.

Max Weber has written about the thoroughly rationalized nature of the ethic of the eight-century B.C. prophets of Israel. That is, they drew out the ramifications of their ethic to every level of society. Their "definition of the situation" was one in which God was seen

acting in history, moving among the nations and peoples, authoring cataclysmic events, calling covenant people to love justice in grand ways. The world scene and foreign politics is the theater of their God's activity.⁴⁸

The definition of the situation is much different among Jesus People. The individual human heart is the theater of God's activity. To the individual heart the good news is proclaimed, and out of the individual heart will evolve a social ethic. At its widest, the definition of the situation of God's activity may include the small, direct community. But never the foreign policies with which the great prophets dealt. To be sure, foreign policy and end of world history do come into view—and most of all among the least "theological" Jesus People. But there it is the magic and despair of apocalyptic, the speculation about the judgment "our side" is bringing down upon the world. There was a time for apocalyptic in the Judaism before Christ, too. But it was a time when the confidence of the great prophets had left the scene. In despair men looked for an angry God who would deliver them from their enemies and bring a creation gone wrong to a halt with cataclysmic intervention.

One's ministry will naturally develop around one's definition of the situation. That is so obvious it often goes unrecognized. One can read Christianity and Crisis, the Christian Century, and Christianity Today, for example, and intuit quite clearly what their definition of the situation is. When the Jesus People or Billy Graham or fundamentalists are accused of not being where the action is, it is precisely

because they do not think the action is where their critics think it is. Of course, the Jesus movement is not totally a-sociological. If God is most active in individual hearts, it would seem that the social location of most of those hearts is the youth culture.

There remains only the question of personal ethics, which we shall discuss briefly. Because the notion of heart religion predominates in the Jesus movement, the emphasis on personal ethics is very strong. One could argue that the Jesus movement does not, in fact, have any meaningful social ethic, only a personal ethic. Many observers have remarked on the near absence of drugs among people who formerly were heavy drug users, on the strict, even rigid, sexual chastity among people who formerly advocated free love and wide sexual experimentation. Many other practices, such as trashing, shoplifting, and revolutionary lying, which some in the youth culture have justified in view of an oppressive establishment, are also expected to cease among those who become Jesus People.

We could almost speak of new personal vows among many Jesus People, in the sense that vows grew up among monastics. Poverty is a vow of sorts; at least there is a decided and self-conscious attempt to live on little and reject all the trappings of "materialism." Chastity, though certainly not lifelong celibacy, is certainly a vow. Sexual relations are to be practiced only within marriage. There are real efforts not to lead others, especially Christian brothers, into temptation. Dress is normally modest, though typically in Southern California, mass baptisms often include young women whose bikinis attract more

attention than their spirituality. Obedience is a vow somewhat less in evidence, especially in CWLF. Yet among groups like the Children of God and even many less severe rural communes, the willingness and ability to "submit oneself" is an absolute prerequisite for living in the community. An additional vow for most Jesus People would be pacifism. In few cases is this a position thought out politically or held in the name of some historic social ethic. It is assumed that pacifism was the ethic of Jesus and that pacifism and nonviolence should characterize Jesus People.

In the middle of the second century Justin Martyr spoke of the changes produced in the lives of Christians and tried to show the unreasonableness of persecution. Nock suggests that the Christian ethic might have looked like this (Justin's portrait) to an outsider:

We who formerly rejoiced in uncleanness of life and now love only chastity; we who also used magic arts and have now dedicated ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we who loved resources of money and possessions more than anything, and now actually share what we have and give to every one who is in need; we who hated one another and killed one another and would not eat with those of other race, and now since the manifestation of Christ have a common life and pray for our enemies and try to win over those who hate us without just cause.⁴⁹

Jesus People would like to look like that. If much of that ethic seems the aspiration of any good man, Nock notes: "The real novelty in Christianity was the motive"⁵⁰ Jesus People would agree. It is the motive which identifies them, they believe.

The Family vis-à-vis the World

We have seen that the followers of Jesus in CWLF have joined together in families of brothers and sisters, that a close-knit Christian

community became a central mark of the Church for them and the social realization of who Jesus was for them. But this is a Family which feels itself called to activities in the society and culture around it. Chapter V was a record of CWLF ministries. In the section immediately above we saw that the social ethics of CWLF grows out of the basic conceptions of "heart religion," but also approaches, for a few, the direction of an intentionalist position. On the basis of the classical church-sect distinctions of Ernst Troeltsch and of the more recent work of Bryan Wilson and H. Richard Niebuhr, we now try to locate CWLF's identity as a Christian community vis-à-vis the world.

Ernst Troeltsch's description of the ideal types of church and sect remains helpful for placing the Jesus movement clearly within that cluster of attitudes and perspectives Troeltsch has labeled sect and clearly outside what Troeltsch has labeled church. Troeltsch believed that he could summarize from his great study two ideal types produced by medieval Christianity: the idea of Christian society represented by Thomism and the radical attitude toward society evolved by the sects. He described them as follows:

The position of the first type may be stated thus: the Church, which is regarded as a universal institution, endowed with absolute authoritative truth and the sacramental miraculous power of grace and redemption, takes up into its own life the secular institutions, groups, and values which have arisen out of the relative Natural Law, and are adapted to the conditions of the fallen state; the whole of the secular life, therefore, is summed up under the conception of a natural stage in human life, which prepares the way for the higher supernatural stage, for the ethic of grace and miracle, for the spiritual and hierarchical world-organization.

The position of the second type may be thus summarized: the religious community has evolved its social ideal purely from the Gospel and from the Law of Christ; according to this type of

thought the Christian character and holiness of this ideal should be proved by the unity reigning within the group and by the practical behaviour of the individual members, and not by objective institutional guarantees. Therefore, either it does not recognize the institutions, groups, and values which exist outside of Christianity at all, or in a quietly tolerant spirit of detachment from the world it avoids them, or under the influence of an 'enthusiastic' eschatology it attacks these institutions and replaces them by a purely Christian order of society.⁵¹

More succinctly, at the conclusion of his work, Troeltsch describes the Church as endowed with grace and salvation, able to receive the masses, adjust itself to the world, and even, to a certain extent, ignore the need for subjective holiness for the sake of the objective treasures of grace and redemption. The sect, on the other hand, is voluntary, composed of strict and definite believers who have experienced new birth, living apart from the world, emphasizing law instead of grace, setting up a Christian order based on love, doing all in preparation for the coming Kingdom.⁵²

Within the terms of those descriptions, the Jesus movement, by and large, will fit much more into the sect type than the church type. There is an absolute insistence on heart religion, on being born again, and an absolute disinterest in taking into the embrace of the Christian community the whole of society.

Bryan Wilson has moved beyond the church-sect typology. His work makes it possible to locate the Jesus movement more precisely. In Religious Sects Wilson has described seven types of sectarian responses to the world: the conversionist, revolutionist, introversionist, manipulationist, and the thaumaturgical, reformist, and utopian. He pays most attention to the first four. The conversionist has its basic model

in the heart experience; the revolutionist is a millennial model; the introversionist a community model; and the manipulationist a gnosis model.

His opening definition of a sect may today be more useful than that of Troeltsch. He writes in the introduction to Religious Sects:

Sects are movements of religious protest. Their members separate themselves from other men in respect of their religious beliefs, practices and institutions, and often in many other departments of their lives. They reject the authority of orthodox religious leaders, and often, also, of the secular government. Allegiance to a sect is voluntary, but individuals are admitted only on proof of conviction, or by some other test of merit: continuing affiliation rests on sustained evidence of commitment to sect beliefs and practices. Sectarians put their faith first: they order their lives in accordance with it. The orthodox, in contrast, compromise faith with other interests, and their religion accommodates the demands of the secular culture.⁵³

(In view of several groups which Wilson places within his sect typology, his last statement may be quite dubious.)

Wilson notes the changed situation since the work of Troeltsch and argues that church-sect distinctions in Troeltsch's sense are no longer useful. In America, for instance, the denominations in many ways fulfill the functions of Troeltsch's church, and there is no church as such. Wilson suggests several general attributes of sectarianism: voluntariness, exclusivity, the demand for merit in its members, clear self-identification, a kind of elite status, the practice of expulsion, an emphasis on conscience and commitment, and clear ideological legitimation.⁵⁴

Wilson orders the variations among sectarian responses along answers to the question, What should be done to attain salvation? The conversionist response believes the world and its institutions are evil

and that salvation is to be had only by a profound change of oneself. Such conversion usually occurs at a given time and as a known experience. This experience and acknowledgment of it are necessary to salvation. Men need a heart experience. The revolutionist response demands not that men change but that the world be changed. There is active, millennial expectation that God is about to move to change the world according to his will. The introversionist response, like the first two, recognizes the evil of the world and attempts to abandon the world and preserve and cultivate personal or communal holiness. Salvation will be found in the community of those who withdraw. The manipulationist response seeks salvation in the world but by means not generally known in the world. It seeks goals which all the world seeks, but will reach them by means of a new knowledge. With it the world can be manipulated for benefit.

The thaumaturgical response looks for salvation by magical dispensation from supernatural agencies. There is the highly particular expectation of release from tensions and difficulties, but only vague ideas of transformation or ultimate benefit. It is a demand for miracles. The reformist response emphasizes conscience as the chief insight derived from apprehension of the divine. Rational procedures are justified by religious inspiration. The utopian response looks for a basis for a radical reconstruction of the world, based on religious principles. Salvation comes from returning to the basic principles the Creator intended. "These appear to be the seven possible types of solution to the central religious quest. All of them assert that salvation is to be

attained, and that supernatural agencies intend that at least some men should attain it."⁵⁵

While there is evidence of the revolutionist or millenarian response in the Jesus movement and a small amount of Anabaptist introversion, the conversionist response seems most applicable to the Jesus movement and to CWLF. Wilson suggests the conversionist sects justify proselytizing, usually through revivalist techniques, because of the need to change men's hearts. "Proselytising is a way of keeping members busy, providing them with positive goals of action, maintaining emotional involvement, and providing concrete results as 'proofs of faith.'"⁵⁶ There is an emphasis on feeling, especially in relation to Jesus the Savior, and a fundamentalist adherence to the simple truths of the Bible.

To the extent that a reliance on Biblical prophecy as a guide to salvation characterizes any segments of the Jesus movement, Wilson's category of revolutionist response would be more fitting to describe them. History is a course of tribulations, but God is acting out his design. Knowledge of God's word and obedience to his commands ensures salvation. It is important to convince men intellectually of the truth of prophecy. A significant movement among some of the Jesus People toward rural communes may suggest the presence of Wilson's introversionist response as well. There is an emphasis on withdrawal and building of community as a place of preservation. This community is a gathered remnant. Among the Children of God, for example, such a community is to nurture and sustain them through the coming tribulations, whether of a

Communist takeover of America or something else. Nevertheless, among Jesus People there is always the pressure of evangelizing others which often completely recedes among the true introversionist sect. The Bruderhof or the Amish, for example, do no outside evangelizing.

H. Richard Niebuhr does not talk about church and sect in his Christ and Culture, but he sets out to describe the social-ethical world-views of historic Christianity by means of a fivefold typology. These are kinds of world affirmation and world denial, each with a certain blend of the two. He suggests that the five approaches are: Christ against culture, Christ of culture, Christ above culture, Christ and culture in paradox, and Christ the transformer of culture. The key variable, as the title already indicates, is attitude toward the culture. Is Jesus a threat to culture or not? Niebuhr suggested as the crucial question in his opening chapter, "The Enduring Problem." Was Gibbon correct when he argued in The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire that Christians are "animated by a contempt for present existence and by confidence in immortality"?⁵⁷ That charge is as fresh as yesterday's analysis of the Jesus movement, whether by a Jew, a liberal Protestant, a humanist, or a scientist. In words echoed by numerous critics of the Jesus movement, Niebuhr writes:

Christianity seems to threaten culture . . . not because it prophesies that of all human achievements not one stone will be left on another but because Christ enables men to regard this disaster with a certain equanimity, directs their hopes toward another world, and so seems to deprive them of motivation to engage in the ceaseless labor of conserving a massive but insecure social heritage."⁵⁸

In the early church Celsus had charged Christians with irresponsible withdrawal from the system and in the last century Marx charged them with hindering the revolution.

The "Christ against culture" emphasizes opposition, the challenge of an either/or decision. Early Christian attacks on Graeco-Roman civilization, monastic and sectarian movements, and the challenge of some modern missionaries to various cultures typify this approach. The "Christ of culture" type emphasizes agreement and Jesus is a hero of human cultural history, the one in whom the aspirations of men culminate. This position is most clearly reflected in the culture-Protestantism of nineteenth-century Germany. The other three types attempt to maintain the differences and hold them together in some unity. "Christ above culture" is best represented in Catholicism, especially the medieval synthesis of Aquinas. Christ is the fulfiller and restorer of culture, but from above. He is discontinuous, as well as continuous. "Christ and culture in paradox" is most clearly expressed by Luther. There are always two conflicting authorities to be obeyed. This type refuses the accommodation it sees in types two and three and the rejection of responsibility to society it sees in type one. The Christian life is lived in polarity and tension. The fifth type, "Christ transforming culture," is Niebuhr's preferred solution. The perversion of nature and culture is confessed, but this leads not to separation or endurance, as in types one and four, but to expectation of men's conversion in their culture. Augustine outlined this position and Calvin made it explicit.

It seems difficult to avoid placing the social-ethical identity of most Jesus groups, including CWLF, within Niebuhr's first type. This type "uncompromisingly affirms the sole authority of Christ over the Christian and resolutely rejects culture's claim to loyalty."⁵⁹ This position was prominent in early Christianity and was stated most radically by Tertullian in the second century. Christians are seen as a kind of third race, a new people. Later representatives would be the Rule of St. Benedict, the Anabaptist tradition, and the religion of Leo Tolstoy. In this type there is a clear reduplication of profession in conduct. There is appeal in proving to oneself and others that you mean what you say that Jesus Christ is Lord. Where social reform comes about, as it often does out of this position, "they accomplish what they did not intend."⁶⁰

Niebuhr believes type one is both necessary and inadequate. The exclusive Christian will not be able to escape the conservation, selection, and conversion of cultural achievements. He will always be tempted to the impossible task of reproducing the culture in which Jesus lived. When the radical Christian's obedience becomes concrete, it will include ideas and rules from the non-Christian culture: "in the government of the withdrawn Christian community, and in the regulation of Christian conduct toward the world outside."⁶¹

Because the American fundamentalist-evangelical tradition has a certain debt to Calvinism, we must see in passing why the fifth type seems so lacking in the Jesus movement. The sectarian aftermath of Calvinism is more evident in this country than the original genius and

vision. Not only the Jesus movement in particular, but Calvinist evangelical Protestantism in general lacks the courage and audacity of that vision of transforming culture. It continues strong in the liberal-mainline Protestant churches, but in ways whose validity evangelicals refuse to recognize. Besides the predominance of sectarian theology, the very culture-bound nature of so much American fundamentalism is also responsible. Especially in the South, but throughout America, there is an evangelical-fundamentalist "culture-Protestantism" as bound to its civilization as nineteenth-century German liberalism with its Christ of culture was. Indeed, a most remarkable potential of the Jesus movement is a separation from that religion of Americanism and an opening up to true radicalism. As more of the Jesus movement comes home to the churches, that may be unlikely, however—unless the best of the Jesus People and a revived free church tradition should together forge a new radical identity. In addition, the Jesus movement is much more liable to an apocalyptic view of a God soon to arrive at the end of history than to a view of history as a grand and dramatic interaction between God and men, as in early Calvinism. The millennial ingredients in fundamentalist American Protestantism which place it theologically if not practically in type one are much present in the Jesus movement as well. Barring, then, a complete coming home of the Jesus movement to fundamentalist Americanism, there may continue an undiluted type one response. Barring some recapturing of the vision of early Calvinism, there certainly will not be a type five response.

Notes to Chapter VI

¹John A. MacDonald, House of Acts (Coral Stream, Ill.: Creation House, 1970), and Don Williams, Call to the Streets (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), tell this story.

²Dispensationalism divides human history into seven time periods during which humankind are tested in respect to obedience to some specific revelation of the will of God for that period. The Scofield Reference Bible epitomizes this theological position, which, in effect, is a fundamental hermeneutical principle.

³Michael McFadden, The Jesus Revolution (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 208.

⁴Albert Schweitzer, The Quest for the Historical Jesus (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1945), p. 398.

⁵Ibid., p. 401.

⁶Bibel und Kirche, Heft 2/2, Quartal 1972, p. 33.

⁷Time, June 21, 1971.

⁸Christian Century, June 23, 1971.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Compare this concern with the remarks of Claude Welch, Dean and President of the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, to the American Academy of Religion: "Some inadequate and even dangerous notions about the teaching of religion have largely been rejected. I am thinking here particularly of the 'zoo' theory, according to which religion can be dealt with only by exhibiting representative members of the various species; likewise the 'confessional principle' or the 'insider theory,' according to which no one except an adherent can legitimately interpret or even understand a religious tradition" These remarks are found in "Identity Crisis in the Study of Religion," Presidential Report to the American Academy of Religion, in Bulletin of the American Academy of Religion, October 23, 1970, p. 10. One wonders if Welch would appoint a white person to a chair of Black Studies or a male to a chair of Women's Studies.

¹¹ Jesus is seen as the way back, the Door to the Father's house. In John 10:7-10 Jesus says, "I am the door of the sheep I am the door; if any one enters by me, he will be saved, and will go in and out and find pasture. . . . I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly."

¹² An earlier Jesus Freak, Billy Sunday, surely touches on such a Jesus when he tells the story of his boyhood, and again, another time, the story of his conversion. This is recorded in Karen Gullen, ed., Billy Sunday Speaks (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1970), pp. 207-214. Billy had never seen his father, who had died in the Civil War two months before Billy was born. When his grandmother died he would leave her coffin only when forced to. After the funeral his mother followed his tracks through the snow to the graveyard and found him "lying across her grave, weeping and chilled through with the November winds" (p. 209). When desperate poverty overcame his mother she had to send Billy and his brother to the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Glenwood, Iowa. He climbed into the wagon to go to the railroad station, calling out "Good-by trees, good-by spring," and giving his dog a last hug and kiss. At the depot he slept and his mother prayed and wept. While his mother sobbed, Billy cried from the train, "I don't want to go to the Orphans' Home. Take me back to the farm with you." Billy writes: "Shall I ever forget the home of my childhood? Yes, when the flowers forget the sun that kissed and warmed them. Yes; when the mountain peaks are incinerated into ashes. Yes; when love dies out in the human heart. Yes; when the desert sands grow cold" (p. 211).

Much later, out on a binge with baseball friends in Chicago, he comes upon a Gospel wagon with men and women playing instruments "and singing Gospel hymns that I heard my mother sing in the log cabin out in Iowa. . . . Well, we sat on the curb listening to men and women playing on cornets and trombones and singing Gospel hymns that many of the churches have blue-penciled as being too crude for these so-called enlightened days; but these hymns stir memories that drive folks back to their mother's God and Christ, and, compared with this, semi-jazz, rattle-trap, dishwater music is as useless as a glass eye at a keyhole and will never make a dent in your sin-covered heart" (p. 214). He turned to his friends and said, "Boys, I bid the old life good-by." He went to the mission that night and again and again. "One night I went forward and publicly accepted Christ as my Savior. . . . I have followed Jesus from that day to this very second, like the hound on the trail of the fox, and will continue until he leads me through the pearly gate into the presence of God and it closes on its jeweled hinges" (p. 214).

¹³ Cf. Heb. 2:14-18; 4:14-16.

¹⁴ David Wilkerson, Jesus Person Maturity Manual (Glendale, Calif.: G/L Publications, 1971).

¹⁵Roger Kahn, "The Collapse of S.D.S.," Smiling Through the Apocalypse, ed. Harold Hayes (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971), p. 624.

¹⁶Jacob Brackman, "My Generation," Smiling Through the Apocalypse, ed. Harold Hayes, p. 637.

¹⁷James Nolan, "Jesus Now: Hogwash and Holy Water," Ramparts 10 (August 1971):26.

¹⁸Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., One Way (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 31-32.

¹⁹The issue of the "canon within the canon" seems always present in any religious group, no matter how total its professed submission to all of Scripture. If a Lutheran canon within the canon, for example, is based on Romans, Galatians, and John, the inner canon for CWLF sometimes seems to be the Synoptic Gospels and the epistle of James. On one level this may relate to the fact that the Gospels have Jesus as a central character in a way the Pauline epistles do not. A point to be made about one's Christian "walk" is often made with respect to the life of Jesus rather than to Pauline moral exhortations. It comes more naturally to CWLF women to argue their case on the basis of Jesus' treatment of women than on the basis of Paul's Christological statement in Galatians 3:28. (Of course, some would see the latter compromised by other statements in the Pauline corpus.) On another level, however, this relates to an Anabaptist theology always present in CWLF. The Anabaptist Jesus is the Synoptic Jesus, who meant the Sermon on the Mount to be a "real social ethic," not an "impossible ideal." In The Politics of Jesus (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1972), John Howard Yoder almost seems to define Jesus as the brother of James, and even Paul is thoroughly de-Lutheranized.

²⁰In the issue of Bibel und Kirche (Heft 2/2, Quartal 1972) devoted to "Jesus 1972," Wolfgang Wieland writes (p. 36): "Kennzeichnet sich die Bewegung nicht gerade dadurch, dass Jesus unvermittelt, direkt, geschichtslos, unkirchlich erfahren wird? Ist sie nicht einseitig der persönlichen Erfahrung zugewandt, vertritt sie nicht extrem subjektive Positionen? Blickt sie nicht ausschliesslich auf das, was Gott jetzt tut und in Zukunft tun wird, nicht auf das, was er getan hat? Besteht also die Gefahr, dass Religiositaet funktional, beduerfnis-bestimmt wird, diktiert von Lebensangst und Erlebnishunger? Ein solche stark kompensatorische und 'funktionale' Religiositaet verzerrt nicht nur die Realitaet des transzendenten Du, sondern schmilzt auch dahin wie der Schnee in der Fruehlingssonne, sobald das betreffende Beduerfnis verschwindet oder von einer anderen Quelle (beispielsweise Erfolg in Beruf oder Liebe) gestillt wird."

²¹Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), p. 66.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 67.

²³Theodore Roszak, Where the Wasteland Ends (Garden City: Doubleday, 1973), p. 348.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵Peter Marin, "Children of Yearning: Meditations on the Jesus Movement," Saturday Review, May 6, 1972, p. 63.

²⁶*Ibid.* The direction Peter Marin's life has taken since this article, however, does not suggest that he has internalized this point. Leaving his family to begin an exciting new adventure with another woman seems to be the new truth of his own life.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸The notions about the bondage of the will and the objective character of grace still make some modern Lutherans concerned about Billy Graham's constant emphasis on "decisions." Even the name of the magazine of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association is Decision. Yet precisely that word (Entscheidung) runs continually through the German Lutheran existentialism of a Rudolf Bultmann. The difference is that for Bultmann the decision is preeminently ethical: one's character, one's life comes into being in the moments of existential decision. For Jesus People and all heart religionists, it is a personal decision to accept Jesus, which, to be sure, is ultimately expected to be of great ethical consequence.

²⁹Cf. Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew (Garden City: Doubleday, 1955).

³⁰Billy Graham, "The Marks of the Jesus Movement," Christianity Today, November 5, 1971, p. 4.

³¹Ray Stedman, Body Life (Glendale, Calif.: G/L Regal Books, 1972).

³²Roszak, Where the Wasteland Ends, p. 408.

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴Edward Long, A Survey of Christian Ethics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 252.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 253.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁴⁰Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Random House, 1970).

⁴¹This is quoted on the back cover of the paperback edition.

⁴²Reich, p. 318.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 388.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸S. N. Eisenstadt, Max Weber: On Charisma and Institution Building (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 258.

⁴⁹A. D. Nock, Conversion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 215.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁵¹Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, tr. Olive Wyon from the German edition of 1911 (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), II, 461.

⁵²Ibid., p. 993.

⁵³Bryan Wilson, Religious Sects (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970), p. 7.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 28-35.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 40.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 41.

⁵⁷H. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 5.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 45.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 67.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 71.



CHAPTER VII

OUTCOME AND SIGNIFICANCE

On the cover of the last issue of Time in 1969 the editors asked, "Is God coming back to life?" In 1971 the Jesus movement was voted the religious news story of the year. A pastor of the Hollywood Presbyterian Church has written that church history in the seventies will be determined not by the Church's response to the ecumenical movement but to the Jesus movement. The religion editor of the Washington Evening Star saw the Jesus movement together with the charismatic renewal as the "most important event since the resurrection."¹ To other observers the Jesus movement now appears to resemble more the comet Kahoutek, preceded by blazing press reports and turning quickly into the fizzle of the century.

In this chapter I attempt answers to the questions: How did it all turn out? Did it make any difference? Did it mean anything? I follow first the trajectory of the spiritual pilgrims met in Chapter II, of CWLF itself, and, incidentally, of the larger Jesus movement. Then I ask about the significance of CWLF and of the Jesus movement.² Was it a brilliant mutation, a flash in the pan, a breakthrough in religious and social evolution, an ephemeral theological scent best labeled essence of youth? Did something new happen, or the revitalization of something old? Is there a "new completion?"

Trajectory

Trajectory: The Twelve

Chapter II told the stories of twelve people who came into CWLF. Here I trace the further course of their spiritual voyages, to the end of 1975. The first four stories were told under the heading of "Coming Home." The second four stories fit under the heading "Coming To Find a Place To Be Somebody." The last four were "Coming To Be Authentic."

Susan, the burned-out radical who came home to the Forever Family in Berkeley, became one of the leading women in CWLF. She moved from a tutoring program at Berkeley High School to the founding of the Genesis ministry for people with problems of sexual identity. During that time Susan began reexamining her leftist commitments and began meeting with a Communist Party group whose leader, an old friend from University days she had met by chance at a rally in San Francisco. When this man became involved in a shooting and was charged with murder, Susan saw to it that a steady stream of people from CWLF visited him in prison, appeared at his hearings and trial, raised money for his legal expenses, and corresponded with him after sentencing. By 1974 Susan was excitedly announcing that she had fallen in love with a man and become engaged. She had come to know him by correspondence while he was in prison and he was now out on parole. He said he had terminal cancer and might die in less than a year. Susan said she had no illusions, but was beginning to feel the Lord might heal him.

A few months before, Susan had come to a crisis. Lying awake one night wrestling with God she searched for reasons for her emptiness and malaise. "If I have held anything back, Lord, show me and take that too," she prayed. Susan felt overcome by God's presence. She heard God telling her she was holding back her sexuality. That night Susan vowed that if God would show her a man who loved Him even more than she did, who was a person she could look up to and respect, and who would respect her and take her seriously, she would be willing to consider (heterosexual) marriage.

Without explanation, all the plans collapsed. Later Susan suggested that the man may have been deceiving her all along and that, among other things, he was not terminally ill. Late in 1974 Susan reentered the gay life and began living with a woman. The elders of CWLF began to deal firmly with her. When Susan did not respond, she was excommunicated from CWLF church fellowship to which she had belonged. No one seemed sure whether Susan had "stopped believing," but there was a consensus that her life-style could not be tolerated within the community. A few continued to see Susan, though this was frowned on. Susan did not wish to repent, it seemed. By 1975 almost no one had any contact at all with Susan. By the middle of that year she and her partner moved to Oregon to live on a farm. No one knew whether Susan had renounced her conversion, slipped away from it, or still called herself a Christian. From the viewpoint of the community, it seemed, Susan had gone back to the world. No one had been able to persuade her to come back.

Jerry startled the participants of the Genesis ministry a year after its inception by announcing that he was leaving that ministry and perhaps returning to the gay scene. He did not disbelieve all the things he had been saying and writing; he simply could not master the power to live up to them. He was temporarily or indefinitely separating from CWLF, something he had done less dramatically but quite often in the earlier years of his involvement. He seemed regularly to fall in and out of fellowship during the first two years of CWLF's existence. Jack Sparks had always felt a special burden for Jerry, loved him, befriended him, taken him back repeatedly, defended his right to produce a column in Right On.

While Jerry was admired by a few and his column was thought provocative, he never really achieved status in the group. He opened up to no one—or to a very few. Even in the Genesis ministry he had talked about ideas, not about himself. When CWLF needed advice or a leaflet on the East or drugs or mystical experience, it was to a stable, mature, intellectual brother they turned, never to Jerry. On the streets Jerry was continually seen as gay and approached as such. He was too proud or too ashamed or too much of a loner to open himself up to the love and warmth of the fellowship. Perhaps he had tried and did not find enough. Some began to think that Jerry's writing and his Genesis ministry were all disguised attempts to stay close to the gay scene.

After Susan had been excommunicated, Jerry was confronted. He repented, promised to see his gay friends no more, and said he would

regularly counsel with one of the elders. He soon became evasive, and refused to submit to the community. He was given the alternative of excommunication or leaving Berkeley and going for a period to an evangelical community in Ohio, Gracehaven Farm. He refused and was excommunicated in February 1975.

Bryan began to take more and more seriously the classes he had begun taking while continuing his work in the business office. Eventually he began to get involved in ministries apart from CWLF. The power confrontation that occurred in the summer of 1973, and that resulted in the firing of his "boss," left Bryan confused. He became involved in a Presbyterian Church in the area, returned to school and finished, lived with the former business manager for a time, and continued an active Christian life. In a time of stress in CWLF and of changes in Bryan's life and plans, he quietly left and continued what he had begun in CWLF in the Church.

Des lived for several months after his conversion with the brothers at Richmond House. Then he undertook extensive traveling around the country. When he learned from immigration authorities that his visa was expiring, he spent a few weeks saying good-bye to the brothers and sisters of CWLF and returned to Australia. He was given adieu as one whom God had brought to America and to CWLF to save and who was now returning as a native missionary to his own country. CWLF had many friends in Australia whom Des was to look up. Most in the Forever Family, crying during a fond send-off, felt they would not see Des's face again until they met in heaven. Although he has had his

"ups and downs" in Australia since returning, Des is in a good place, in the view of Jack Sparks, pursuing a teaching ministry in the House of the New World in Sydney.

By 1974 Mike had still not found a niche in CWLF. He had passed through periods of doubt, wondering whether he should leave Berkeley, and of anticipation, when some new ministry appropriate for him seemed to be developing. He had been very successful as a teacher in Crucible, but seemed unable to accept that. He did not want to be stereotyped as a teacher of Greek and insisted on defining himself as a "pastor-teacher." In the fall of 1973 when CWLF began a visionary but short-lived drive to become a helper and resource group to the churches, Mike was labeled the man who would play the important role in that ministry. He had also become active in the afternoon church group, often preaching and taking a leading role in planning the services. Yet others were exercising more control over that group's direction. He kept looking for a ministry appropriate to his talents and answering his needs and self-identity, but steadily resisting the suggestion to return to the parish ministry. In January 1974 he was offered a half-time position at a Christian Academy, teaching English and Religion to eighth graders. At least that offered some steady financial support. By 1975 Mike accepted a call to a small church in the Bay Area. Though still experiencing some emotional "shakiness," he is reported to be happy in his new ministry.

Arnie remains the alternately somber and good-humored Jew for Jesus. For some time Street Theater was his chief means of expressing

himself emotionally and creatively. Eventually he assumed more and more responsibility for the bookkeeping and business affairs of CWLF. His wife graduated from nurses' training and began working full-time. Arnie remained active in the Sunday afternoon fellowship and worked steadily toward some kind of church-community-family concept for CWLF. When one group in CWLF finally structured itself as a church, Arnie became the chief elder, alongside Jack Sparks, the minister.

The changes in the business office and the dismissal of the business manager were not easy for Joyce, but she was ready to move on. When a job description of executive assistant to Jack evolved, Joyce slipped into it. Although she began calling herself by that title, it was not clear that Jack knew how to use an executive assistant or that Joyce really wanted to be one. Increasingly she identified with women's issues, within and outside CWLF. That identity gave her increasing independence, as had the departure of the business manager who had known how to make heavy demands on her and hook into the schoolmarm sense of duty in her nature. She became somewhat of a freelancer, increasing her interests and ministries elsewhere and slowly detaching herself from CWLF. It is not clear, however, that her sense of identity and self-sufficiency have yet carried her to a position of personal strength. She is active in a local church. By 1974 she had pulled out of CWLF and is now working in the public library.

After sitting in his office in the basement of Dwight House several hours a day, week after week, month after month, trying to get a drug hot line going, Barry faded from the scene. When people were

asked what had happened to him, they simply said they had not seen him in quite a while. Partly the victim of his own grandiosity and personal inadequacy, partly the victim of inattention and insufficient appreciation from the community, Barry faded away—forgotten and apparently unlamented. He is probably still a Christian, somewhere, no doubt still living in his house in the area, perhaps trying somewhere, somehow to be a Christian entrepreneur and anxious to receive positive strokes from some Christian group.

Up until the summer of 1973 David remained a forceful, active leader and change maker in CWLF and the influential and aggressive co-editor of Right On. He increasingly took the newspaper in directions which conflicted with the attitudes and style of two of the more middle-class elders. The open hostility which began to develop among the elders leaked out and began to distress some others in the fellowship. David began to think more and more about a future apart from CWLF. He considered working full-time with his church, returning to school, moving Right On in the direction of an independent, national Christian review. Eventually he accepted a position at a Bible College in Los Angeles. His departure was a bombshell for CWLF. His chief antagonist was dismissed, the co-editor of the paper continued on as the sole editor, and David's only connection to CWLF was as contributing editor to Right On. His charismatic drive and attractiveness were missed. No one replaced him as an important alternative and counter-balance to Jack Sparks's leadership. After teaching for two years at the Bible College, David began full-time study toward his Ph.D. in the area of social ethics.

After working for some time in the business office Elizabeth felt called to Street Theater. She prayed about this, met with people, and was invited to join. During her time in Street Theater, Elizabeth began dating a Christian student at Berkeley. In late 1973 she left Street Theater to go home for several months to care for her sick mother. In the summer of 1974 she returned and was soon married. Her husband was an intern for the ministry and Elizabeth trained as a vocational nurse in order to have a means of support. CWLF, it would seem, was an important developmental stage for Elizabeth. She had never been strongly involved in the structure of CWLF. She had wished for a useful and slightly countercultural life-style as a Christian in Berkeley.

After a strong season in Street Theater, Frank heard God telling him clearly one morning at 3:00 A.M. that he should be CWLF's new business manager. No one could have predicted this. He called Jack Sparks at six o'clock that morning to share the news. Within a few days he was plunging with enthusiasm into his new job. A whole new spirit developed in CWLF. Volunteerism was again encouraged and treasured, financial records were opened up, and the business office became human again. Frank hoped to do this with one hand and plunge into something else with the other, perhaps film making. He also tried to move CWLF in the direction of the churches. He often talked about needing the churches. He became somewhat a manager of events and people, perhaps in the style of his old Campus Crusade training. People were saying it was like the good old days. Suddenly, only a

few months later, Frank and his wife announced that they would be leaving Berkeley at Christmas (1973) to return to the South. They wanted to raise a family and seek other ministries. Frank did not seem to be telling the whole story, but he suggested that Berkeley was not a good place to raise their children, that as self-consciously middle-class people they had often felt oppressed by CWLF's aggressively counter-cultural identity and its thoughtless put-down of the middle class. He also lamented CWLF's continued unwillingness to become involved with the churches in the area. As suddenly as he had assumed his new role he left it. Most wished him well and prayed for every blessing for his new ministries to come. A few, especially Jack Sparks, suggested bitterly that he was copping out.

Jack has focused his activities toward a creative ministry in Berkeley, within a conservative Presbyterian perspective. His only involvement with CWLF is as contributing editor of Right On. A circle of fellowship has developed from his own Covenant House, and a worshipping community has evolved from what used to be the CWLF Sunday afternoon group and from others who have been attracted to that fellowship. Jack and others in his group were also able after a year's planning to begin a Christian elementary school in Berkeley. In the summer of 1973 when his landlord sold the house they were living in, Jack and his wife somehow managed to come up with a down payment on another house nearby. Many of the Christians in their circle lived within a few blocks of each other. When CWLF began demanding a primary allegiance from its members and functioned more and more as a church, the old Sunday

afternoon group lost some of its members back to CWLF. Many, however, stayed and that group has become one of Jack's primary ministries.

Perhaps Jack feels he has accomplished his original task of theological infiltration of the Jesus movement. CWLF became more theologically aware and more mature, and Jack gradually distanced himself from it and began concentrating more and more on his own developing ministry. He and his family like being in Berkeley and intend to carry out their witness there.

Of the twelve introduced in Chapter II, most seem still to be active Christians. Susan and Jerry left the fellowship by excommunication. It is not known whether they still think of themselves as Christians. Of the four who "came home" to CWLF, none remains. Des is in Australia, Bryan is active in an area church and presumably has reentered the middle class. Susan and Jerry have returned to a gay life-style. Of those who "came to find a place to be somebody," Mike has, not without continuing difficulty, found a niche, Barry is temporarily lost sight of, Joyce is more on her own and may or may not be more self-directed, and Arnie is a fervent leader of the new church to come out of CWLF. Of those who came to be authentic, David may be considered upwardly mobile toward a regular teaching position in a university, Frank has returned to a middle-class Christian ministry, Elizabeth is married, working, a member of an evangelical church, and presumably middle class, and Jack is active in his own Covenant House ministry.

This record is not atypical. There is a dramatic turnover among the most active participants in CWLF about every two years, although several have now been around for three or four years. Only Jack Sparks remains of those who have been active from the beginning.

Trajectory: CWLF

Whatever may be said about the trajectory of CWLF as an institution, it seems clear that during its history since 1969 many brothers and sisters knew joy, fellowship, ministry, and growth. In small and large matters many found victories and new purpose. What happened to them while in Berkeley they will continue to carry with them. For many, internal or personal revolutions began which will work themselves out long after the Jesus movement as a public event has died. Others who touched base with CWLF during those years will have drifted away, untouched, unmoved, or unable to sustain their small conversions in other times and other places.

The trajectory of CWLF followed here is that from the crisis period of 1973 up to 1975. The departure of David and the subsequent resolve to dismiss Larry seemed to signal a time of peace and even new beginnings. The entire fellowship was able to move beyond an impasse in ministry and morale without the violence and upheaval of a bitter purge. Sparks simply reasserted his charismatic authority. Larry in effect pleaded *nolo contendere*, and was probably glad to be gone.

In the fall of 1973 CWLF began looking for a style and structure that could include maximum participation in decision making,

democratic leadership, and the continuing spiritual authority of Jack Sparks. It was a time of new "prayer and planning meetings," of power vacuums and gentle struggles, of trivial and boring exercises in participatory democracy. Occasionally the meetings reached the absurdities of a church Ladies' Aid in advanced stages of atrophy. Meanwhile, crucial decisions tended to get made and operationalized by those with long-term and full-time investment in the group.

At this same time Sparks began meeting with several Jesus movement leaders from around the country who shared concerns about consolidation, institutionalization, and preservation of the gains the movement had made at its peak. No one wanted to be responsible for "a great spiritual burn-out" after the great evangelistic gains of the late sixties and early seventies. At these small meetings papers were presented and plans for the future were laid. Increasingly there was a focus on what it means to be "the people of God" in society and on the direction the early church had taken in the first and second centuries. There evolved emphases on corporate identity, clearly defined leadership, and a community under the rule of God. Particularly, strong and authoritative leadership came into focus, though it was always cushioned with notions of servanthood.

In CWLF itself these meetings which Sparks was attending were viewed with increasing suspicion. Would such a national or regional group of "spiritual fathers" or elders betray the gains CWLF had made on the women's issue? It was one thing to trust Sparks, almost against one's better judgment; it was another to trust a new group of national

leaders whom one did not know at all. Sparks began pressing for primary commitment to CWLF among all who were serious about the fellowship. In a special meeting he said, "I know I want CWLF to evolve into a corporate body, even if nobody comes with me." To a direct question, "Does this mean you see yourself as our minister?" Sparks replied, for the first time in public and more directly than ever before, "Yes, I see myself as your pastor."

In December 1973 Sparks read a paper at a special meeting: "Where Are We Going?" He called for the evolution of CWLF into a church, with regular worship, ministry, and primary commitment. Most important, he called for clearly defined leadership. The movement was tightening up for the long haul. A questionnaire was given to everyone in CWLF. It was a request for the volunteering of talents and abilities, preferences about worship, and the naming of those who seemed to have "overseeing gifts" (the word bishop was carefully avoided) and "servant (deacon) gifts." At the end one was requested to answer yes or no to the question of making this emerging "church" a primary commitment. In effect, this was an effort to get everyone in CWLF to make the new "church" the primary community, presumably giving up involvements with other churches or fellowships. The decision to call CWLF a church and gear up by naming overseers and deacons was one decisive answer to the many questions we have seen focused by CWLF's history to that time. It was an answer far from unanimous.

Schism in social movements occurs when there are differential needs among members and leaders (or as a response to co-optation or

repression). In CWLF there was always a steady trickle of brothers and sisters moving on toward the churches or to other ministries. Others, in early 1974, were reaching the first stages of reluctance about the call to a primary commitment to CWLF as a church. The majority, at that time, were ready and even eager to move in that direction. The evolution seemed to be succeeding because it was meeting majority needs.

The evolution toward church coincided with a faltering of enthusiasm for street and campus evangelism. Whether "survival goals" were already replacing "mission goals," in the language of denominational analysts, was not yet clear. It was true that concerns about nurture and strengthening the community were becoming stronger. Possibly fewer people with the "call" to evangelism were around. Possibly the stage when the true believer strengthens his faith by converting others had passed. Had the first flush of certainty departed or was it that the group no longer needed to prove itself by heavy investment in recruiting? Probably the central fact was the change in the Berkeley situation. That which had called CWLF's original style into being had passed. A new style was appropriate. CWLF has shown a remarkable resiliency as it moved with the times and a willingness to let go of outdated or obsolete ministries—something the institutional church finds very difficult to do. How soon would that become a problem for CWLF as a church?

Sparks was often heard summing up during 1974. "After five years we see a broad fellowship, deep roots in the community, a family

that seems to belong here, the feeling that we belong in Berkeley. We're part of what this community is. What we sought within it, a community of believers, has happened." There may be a question about whether that was what they sought. Or, the three original missionaries may have had differing goals. In fact, only Sparks is left.

To balance the dangers of institutionalization CWLF may be able to count on the continuing magic and magnetism of Berkeley. While the explosive days of the Free Speech Movement or the violence and excitement of Peoples' Park are gone, Berkeley remains an exciting place. It is typical that a social movement needs to stay in the context of its first vision to hold onto its charisma—or to appear to be in that same context. If the heavy days of street evangelism and energizing confrontations with radicals are gone, CWLF may be able to re-create those days in other circumstances. But it need not become a reminiscing society. Berkeley still exists. One may say that as long as Berkeley is a fascinating place to be, CWLF will have fascinating potential for its own members and for new recruits.

The ministries of CWLF have continued to evolve since 1973. Right On remains the most viable and well-known ministry, stronger each year but not changing direction since 1973. Greater financial solvency and the cultivation of a wider readership remain pressing goals. No one has yet emerged with enough self-direction and talent to accomplish them, but the editorial position of the paper remains strong. Crucible ended its existence in early 1974, slowly fading away while at the same time allowing widespread belief that such a

ministry was in fact happening. By late 1974 the arrival of a new brother in CWLF, with considerable personal maturity and some theological education, was leading to its rebirth. In 1975 regular courses were again being offered. Campus ministry is nearly nonexistent. It seems largely forgotten that this was once thought crucial to CWLF's identity. Genesis has disappeared. The radical crossfire of ideas and personalities had made the ministry increasingly difficult to integrate. The "lapse" of Jerry and Susan into the gay scene was the clearest signal of its end. The Rising Son Ranch passed out of CWLF's hands. It had passed its period of usefulness. The tutoring ministry at Berkeley High School existed for a while longer, but in a different form and with less CWLF involvement.

CWLF's forte had been literature. A strong new movement in that direction was again noticeable in 1974. Two brothers of considerable talent as researchers and writers inaugurated a "spiritual counterfeits project," a kind of countercultural think-tank for evangelicals. Out of their work have come Crucible classes, articles in evangelical magazines, pamphlets, and leaflets, and, beginning in 1975, a carefully orchestrated attempt to prove that Transcendental Meditation (TM) is in fact a religious movement. The court cases being planned would thus make impossible the spread of TM into the public schools and other agencies funded by the government.

Street Theater continued with ever-changing casts, increasing skills, and still unresolved questions about its message and style. Perhaps it was always most meaningful to the actors themselves, though

the actors always felt they were connecting with the crowds. The Christian Houses remained examples of convenience, often legitimized as missions. Periodically there were calls for Dwight House to return to its mission station status as a place where street people could crash. Most houses were providing community and accommodations for CWLF staff. When several houses arose in given geographical areas, there was the nucleus for localized churches or Christian networks in a neighborhood.

Perhaps in connection with its structural evolution since 1973 CWLF finally began to take theology seriously. One did not know whether to applaud this as a sign of maturity or lament it as an indicator of creeping bureaucratization. Attempts were made to draw up a statement of faith, perhaps more for expressing minimum requirements than for creative affirmation. As these attempts were made, some of the explosive mines in CWLF's past history and in the histories of its present constituents would begin to go off. A Roman Catholic in the group might seem soft on the inerrancy of Scripture. A devoted Right On staffer would move away from the seeming restrictiveness of Anabaptist thought to what seemed the greater inclusiveness of the Calvinist vision. Mostly the theological work seemed to be attempts to shore up the body, to get things in order for the period of the church—the advice of the Pastoral Epistles in the New Testament, advice often associated with what New Testament scholars have dubbed "early catholicism." Indeed, now and then Arnie, the chief elder, or others could be seen in the library of the Graduate Theological Union

poring over the writings of the early church fathers. For a while much of the old flexibility remained, and there were those who could expend themselves in nothing more than thank-you-Jesus and praise-the-Lord. By 1975, however, there was more and more emphasis on appropriate contours for the body, on properly appointed (by God?) and authoritative ministries, on "church discipline," even on properly administered sacraments. It was a long way from the days when Sparks, almost thoughtlessly, brought down a bottle of Spañada and passed it around while some other brother was making motions to toss the remaining bread back to the center of the room.

By the beginnings of 1975 CWLF seemed both strong and ripe for major changes, or even schism. This dichotomy appeared in several areas: (1) Sparks's charisma remained. He works hard, he loves the people, he calls Berkeley his home, he does whatever work needs to be done. This enabled him to make increasingly strong claims to authority and convince many of the brothers and sisters that he could be trusted. At the same time, whatever latent paternalism some had seen seemed more obvious and perhaps less benevolent. Some of the most talented in CWLF were less and less willing to go along with the tightening of the ship. (2) Somewhat like the Mormons, CWLF had been able in the past to attract a stream of creative and hard-working people willing to give some years of their life to a certain kind of ministry. Sparks's increasing focus on the "church" as CWLF's key ministry and reason for being may be less attractive, except to some already in Berkeley, than the countercultural ministries which first brought interest and

attention to CWLF. Yet, so far, those ministries continue to flourish, though always changing. (3) CWLF remained zealous to cultivate its friendships and financial support through its newsletters, prayer letters, and public tours. While the organization was never financially secure, contributions continued to flow in. But it was often the sense of CWLF carrying on a ministry in the name of other concerned Christians that kept the financial support coming. First Presbyterian Church in Berkeley often looked at CWLF as its "street arm," though CWLF never would have accepted that designation. There has always been the distinction in missionary or evangelistic circles between those who go and do and those who stay and pay, the latter living vicariously through the former. CWLF consciously cultivated this sense among its supporters. Letters from supporters, in turn, often mentioned their enthusiasm for ministries in Berkeley that they themselves could not perform or that any of the churches were unlikely to perform. Will such support continue if CWLF, or part of it, continues its evolution toward being a church?

Split Trajectories: The Church of the New Covenant vs. CWLF

In 1975 the church within CWLF had continued to grow and now sought to "come out" as the true identity of CWLF, the true goal toward which it had been growing all along, the real meaning of its existence in Berkeley. The church had taken a name, Redeemer King, and two elders had emerged as the church's "pastors": Jack Sparks and Arnie (the person of that name in Chapter II). In the face of continued resistance by some within the church and by several key leaders in CWLF who had



never made themselves a part of the church, Jack and Arnie issued a letter to the entire CWLF community that was to be the occasion of the most fundamental split in the trajectory of CWLF since 1969. This occurred in July 1975.

The letter suggests a certain "salvation history" approach as it looks back on the development of CWLF as a church since December 1973. The community is now rooted in Berkeley, there is joy in the fellowship and worship, marriages have occurred, families have emerged, and more and more are thinking of a permanent commitment within this community. (Permanence was never in the past a CWLF kind of word.) The letter looks back over the great struggles necessary to preserve the community and then quickly moves on to the point:

This has also been a time during which our founding father (our apostle), raised up by God over six years ago to found CWLF, was led by God to a spiritual peer group. [This is a reference to the other "apostles" who have risen out of other groups and with whom Sparks has been meeting and making plans for local churches and regional affiliations.] During most of those years Jack Sparks was for the most part alone in seeking realization of the vision of establishing a truly Christian community in Berkeley. Though at times there were some who shared to a degree this vision, in no one but he did the vision burn as a passion. As CWLF has developed there have been some within her who not only did not share this vision but worked against it. Some were leaders within the ministry. They held that CWLF should exist as a "loose coalition of creative ministries." Though there were many battles, God's will that we be a community prevailed. One by one those who did not share this vision have left. Now, because of the mercy of God, Jack is not alone. Being committed and submitted to an apostolic band [another reference to the other apostles with whom Jack had been meeting], he now has peers of like mind across the nation, intent upon establishing churches similar to our own.

But, the letter continues, a basic issue remains. The matter must be resolved or "the elders will be ineffectual and driven to quit."

It is the problem of church polity, who will exercise authority. The letter rejects any congregational or presbyterian polity. Sparks and Arnie insist on an episcopal form. There are two arguments for this, one from CWLF history and one from early church history. (The first, of course, begs the question.) The first traces what now seems to be seen as "sacred history":

At the very inception of the church in December 1973 Jack read to the brothers and sisters two papers: "The Christian Ecclesia: A Community Governed by God" and "Where We Are Going." These papers were in effect a declaration of the fact that CWLF was to be a church. The declaration was made by Jack Sparks because he as the founding father of CWLF was the one God had given the vision and authority to found the church, and that authority was not based upon a vote of CWLF people. It was given by God to Jack and he took that action in concord with the will of God. Those within CWLF who desired to be members of the church became members, and those who didn't, didn't, and eventually left. There was no debate as to whether or not we should be a church. Jack, as God's instrument, had established it. The point is that it was not a congregational decision, nor was it subject to congregational approval.

The second argument insists that this episcopal form is "orthodox Christian government" because it "most closely represents that which existed in the early church." There follow quotations from Clement, Ignatius, and Cyprian, three of the fathers of the early church whose statements are most supportive of episcopal polity. Reference is made to "an apostolic band—Jack's peer group," who have been raised up by God to found and nurture various new Christian communities.³

The letter assures everyone in CWLF that their comments and beliefs are solicited, but "the matter of church government is not to be discussed publicly at the congregation or any other meeting." This was presumably intended to thwart any caucuses by the opposition. They

happened anyway. Further, the letter announced that although the worship committee of the church had been doing a good job, "it is time for the elders to take personal charge of worship and teaching in the church meeting in order to give authoritative teaching and lend authoritative leadership to the worship. . . . The elders will also chair the CWLF staff meetings for now in order to give authoritative direction and vision." Those who disagree are asked to leave the church rather than stay and dissent.

The delivery of this letter to the CWLF community may be compared to Nixon's Saturday Night Massacre. Apparently Jack had no idea of the storm of protest that would instantly arise. Some of his most loyal supporters through the years were forced to a fundamental parting of the ways. Within weeks there appeared another letter, "An Explanation from Jack and Arnie." The second letter took nothing back. But it began:

Jack and Arnie recognize that there is a great chasm between us and some of the CWLF people. In our letter we assumed that our view of authority was generally understood in the church. It is now clear that was not true.

The letter attempted to clarify Jack's relation to the apostolic band and to assure the community that Jack and Arnie were in no way unwilling "to hear what God would say to us through His people or just what people would have to say whether they thought it was from God or not." The role of the apostolic band was not to formulate new doctrine but "to steward those orthodox and catholic doctrines handed down to us by scripture and the church councils." Jack and Arnie will listen carefully and not assume they "possess the totality of what the Holy Spirit

gives to the church." But none of this means "that matters in the church are to be decided by democratic vote."

Then, in a single paragraph, one of the most important events in the history of CWLF was announced, a clear suggestion as to the strength and vehemence of the community's response to the first letter:

We are resigning from CWLF staff, effective immediately, asking only that we be allowed 60 days to get our support completely transferred. This must be understood as a friendly act, and one which is designed to protect the unity of CWLF. We stand behind its ministry and do not wish to disturb its ability to function. As a matter of fact, members of the church will not only be allowed to work in CWLF, but will be encouraged in their work. We hope to act jointly with CWLF in some of its ventures. No relationships between people need to be broken. We must all remain friends and neighbors, brothers and sisters. This shift simply frees me in accord with the instructions of my brothers in the apostolic band and makes for a cleaner relationship between the church and CWLF.

For reasons not explained, the Nicene Creed and the Christological formulae of the Council of Chalcedon were appended to this second letter.

What went on in the community after the delivery of the first letter and why did it occasion Sparks's resignation from CWLF in the second letter? From February to May 1975, a series of meetings had been held by the band of apostles to which members of the individual churches were invited. Already in these meetings several people from CWLF became very suspicious of the authority being exercised by these apostles. In one meeting one of the apostles was speaking on the Christology of Origen, one of the early church fathers in the East. When some of his statements were challenged by the director of Crucible, the apostle became very defensive and rebuked the challenger. The

apostles seemed to feel they were delivering the truth, and some of the listeners seemed to feel that they were simply at a Seminar. Word spread in Berkeley that CWLF people were being put down by some of the apostles. The apostles seemed to demand that only supportive questions could be asked. Direct challenges should only be made privately, never in public meetings.

By the time Sparks's first letter was distributed (without any preparation for it), it had become clear that many in CWLF held basically different presuppositions from those of Sparks about the exercise of authority and the direction in which the church should be moving. Sparks had evolved in his understanding toward a basically changed conception of his role. He really expected obedience and was not getting it.

During this time the church had continued to grow more bold in the issues members were willing to address and the risks they were willing to take as a burgeoning and experimental community. Shortly before Sparks's first letter appeared, for example, a woman who was leading the worship was discussing God's motherliness. As she spoke one of the men who had all along been least willing to accept the gains of women in the community passed her a note: "Correct your mistake or don't go on with Holy Communion." The note was read aloud. Some women cried, many of the men were not helpful. The woman speaker said the group seemed divided and should not go on. Sparks rose to make a statement and the service did go on. Later Sparks and Arnie dealt with the disruptive man and insisted he apologize; the woman was to make a

statement that she was not trying to change the doctrine of the Trinity. Shortly everything blew up, and neither the apology nor the statement was made. Such an incident convinced Sparks that the community was getting out of control.

When the letter hit the fellowship, everyone was taken aback. Even some of Sparks's most loyal supporters were hurt at the unilateral abolition of the worship committee. One who lost little time "going with Sparks" when the split came was still able to muse with some wonder: "From Jesus Freak to Catholic!"

At the end of July a ten-page response to Sparks appeared: "Why we must leave the church which Jack and Arnie are caring for: an explanation." Though this paper was written by one person, the director of Crucible, many soon allied themselves with this response. The paper professes affection for Jack and Arnie and notes that spiritual authority in general is not the issue. Then the chief issues are discussed: the structure, kind, source, and outworkings of authority; the Scriptural basis and relation to Scripture; the question of the Church as Mediator; church history and its application; and appropriate responses to the twentieth-century sociocultural situation. The paper asserts the presence of authority from God within the entire Christian community and refuses to recognize any uniquely authoritative role between that community and God, rejecting both the apostles as fathers and the Church as mother. Authority flows from God to the Christian community. There is grave concern over threats of excommunication to those who will not submit to the apostles and

over any administration of the sacraments restricted to the authority of the apostles. There is a strong rejection of the claims and pretensions of the apostolic band and particular concern that the Scriptures are somehow being underplayed. The paper suggests five reasons why the early church developed the polity it did and argues that none of these reasons exists today. The paper concludes with a call for a Christian community characterized by the following:

- (1) congregations can function independently according to the leading of the Spirit rather than as ultimately guided in uniformity by a band of men;
- (2) the Bible only is clearly held up as the final rule for faith and practice, not its interpretation by a small group of wise, but fallible men;
- (3) spiritual authority is recognized as being from God in the elders, in the whole congregation, and in every individual according to his/her gifts, not ultimately only in the apostle and by delegation in the elders;
- (4) elders and congregation are mutually submissive, not one over or under the other;
- (5) spiritual authority works more on the analogy of husband and wife rather than parent and child; and
- (6) individual freedom in thought and experience and corporate identity are seen as mutually dependent without priority.

One of the most interesting points made in the response to Sparks is the rejection of the "fatherly" character of the new authority being imposed. The author argues:

The analogy is repeatedly given of a Father (the apostle) and his children (the congregation). While that may be an appropriate relationship for a young Christian and the mature Christian who is discipling him/her, it is not appropriate across the board for a church and its elders or "apostle." The analogy of husband and wife seems more appropriate, if not perfect, with its concept of

mutual submission, headship, and accountability. Jesus said to call no man "Father," except God only. And even Christ calls the Church His bride, not His child.

In view of the comments made early on in this study about the paternalistic leadership which necessarily characterized CWLF at the beginning (the nurturing of the "babes in the Lord" period) and which has always characterized Sparks's style, this now institutionalized fatherliness may come as no surprise. Given the need felt by Sparks and others in the apostolic band to consolidate and shore up their respective communities, it apparently seemed natural and appropriate to extend, structure, and make mandatory the kind of leadership and authority with which they had come to feel most comfortable. Obviously they could have looked for other models. They apparently did not. And they chose the practice of the early church as theological legitimation for the approach they decided upon. Perhaps such a leadership role was what Sparks longed for all along, even in CWLF's "loosest" period of leadership and authority. Certainly the charismatic leader, who really grows used to the trusting acclamation he draws out of people, may find it obvious to continue such leadership, only with a heavier hand, when the long haul looms ahead. Now, in a sense, the charismatic acclamation, which arose so spontaneously in early days, is demanded as "what God wants." And the only assurance given to the "children," perfectly appropriate assurance for the charismatic leader, is "trust me."

Whether the grandiosity of "apostolic band" arose out of some collective effervescence from the group of seven as they met together for over a year, it is not possible to say.

The uproar that followed the letter both surprised Sparks and convinced him to follow the advice the apostolic band had been giving him for several months already: resign from CWLF, devote your full attention to your role as apostle in the emerging churches. It is possible that this advice stemmed in part from an apostolic conviction that many in Berkeley would never become properly submissive. After the resignation the only question remaining was, Who would go with Jack Sparks?

Sparks seemed to want people to make their decision on the basis of whether they trusted him or not. This is typical of the charismatic leader. For him that is the only issue. He does not seem to consider that the followers may wish to reject his position in principle or that they should have the right to do so. His fatherly benevolence should be welcomed. Only a simple trust in his good intentions or a believing willingness to see his leadership and authority as divinely ordained is called for.

Within a month after the second letter the lines were clearly drawn. Nearly everyone had made up his mind whether to "go with Jack" or stay with CWLF. CWLF became the Berkeley Christian Coalition. The group which had been founded in the spring and summer of 1969 was by the fall of 1975 divided into two groups, each going its own way. The name Christian World Liberation Front was no more. In what directions have the two groups traveled since the split?

The Berkeley Christian Coalition organized itself around five ministries: Right On, Crucible, Spiritual Counterfeits Project, Street

Theater, and Housing. In addition, a Service Committee drew volunteers from the total membership and provided office and other support for the five ministries. A council of six, including the head of each of these ministries and the head of the Service Committee, directs the Coalition. There are staff meetings once a week. There is also a Director of the Coalition, chosen from among the council. Most decisions are reached by consensus rather than by voting.

A House Church has also emerged out of the Coalition, though it, of course, is not structured in any way similar to the church which Sparks heads. One of the members of the council explains that so much closeness and mutual support developed during the time of the crisis that members of the Coalition "could not see disbanding as a community and going to separate churches. It came to a point that we were willing to admit we were a church." The House Church has been drawing about forty or fifty people to its services each week. Different people lead the worship each time. Some who belong are not affiliated with the Coalition except as friends and supporters. The Church has a joint Sunday School program with that of another House Church in Berkeley, the one associated more clearly with a Reformed tradition theologically and connected to the ministry of one of the men introduced in Chapter II (Jack). The children of members of the Coalition also go to the Christian School that emerged in Berkeley in 1974.

The wounds have not yet healed from the split, particularly since members of the Coalition see very little of members of Sparks's church. There is both an underlying tension and "a lot of caring" for

each other. A member of the Coalition council says the Coalition has never been "more together or better organized." No major financial problems have emerged either. Apparently there has been no failure of nerve, and the Berkeley Christian Coalition is forging ahead, perhaps more streamlined for the tasks they have set for themselves because of the split.

Sparks's church calls itself Redeemer King, and the whole network under the leadership of the apostolic band calls itself the Church of the New Covenant.⁴ At this point the apostles are located in Berkeley, in Southern California, Seattle, Ohio, and Tennessee. Local congregations under Jack Sparks's bishopric are in Berkeley, Santa Cruz, and Ukiah, California, and one in Alaska. Deacons and elders have been ordained in each of these places with the laying on of hands and prayer. A major assembly of the seven apostles and all the elders is planned for June 1976 in Ohio.

The plans of the Church of the New Covenant are either visionary or pretentious and grandiose, perhaps both. Sparks sees the new church as a patron of the arts and of scholarship. There is a strong hope "to make scholars in our midst," to found an academy on the West Coast. To such an institution would come young men and women recommended by their local elders. "We know we have to build on others, but we've got to pull things together ourselves; we can't survive just on other people's work," Sparks says. He describes himself as brushing up on his German, two other brothers are working on Latin, and another on Greek. Within the Berkeley group a woman has been assigned to

produce a catechism for the church, and a man with some seminary training is studying the doctrine of salvation in the early church fathers, a project to take "several years." Sparks is working on a history of Christian worship and liturgy.

It is thought that eventually all "support" will come from the members of these congregations themselves. There will be much less reliance on solicitation of funding from interested Christians around the country, as still must be the case with the Coalition. Some of the elders will also have jobs, as does Arnie, functioning, in effect, as worker-priests. Of the CWLF ministries, only one went with Sparks, Street Theater. In fact, only the leader of Street Theater and a couple of participants went; the rest stayed with the Coalition. (There are now two Street Theaters.) A ministry like Street Theater, then, may continue to need funding from others. And Sparks seems eager to get back into some kind of publishing, whether a newspaper or journal.

All of the seven apostles originally came out of Campus Crusade for Christ. Like Sparks they had left because they wanted more flexibility or they were disenchanted with Crusade, or they felt a call to something Crusade would not have felt comfortable with. Two of the elders had spent some time with one of the Christian "heresies" to gain prominence concurrently with the Jesus movement. They now believe the church fathers saved them from that. It is interesting that evangelicals who "had the Scripture" all along may have had to turn to the fathers (to "tradition") for guidance and for a more "catholic" understanding of the church. Sparks is now willing to talk about using

the Scripture "as interpreted by the Church." Those in the group who are concerned about women's issues are told that although Scripture is authoritative on matters of doctrine and morals, "practice evolves."

Sparks insists that "we are not in any way intending to be exclusive. We intend to interact with other churches and communions. We don't intend to be a little stream off to the side. We want to be in the thick. That's the reason for our careful preparation in many crucial areas." There seems to be a careful rejection of everything associated with sectarianism. "These days we find it easier to talk to Lutherans, Anglicans, and maybe even Methodists [all episcopal or quasi-episcopal church bodies] than to independent Bible churches of the American type. Also to Rome. For two reasons: polity and mainstream." Sparks suggests two reasons for the direction they have gone: experience with people and what they learned from a study of the church fathers. He talks about people "who took our money and food and then gave us the finger." And he thinks of "people who did knuckle under, even though not then forced to, who became fruitful, actual disciples of Christ."

He calls the main critique of his position to come out of the Coalition "not in the mainstream. Many people here say they're right, but in the mainstream 95% would agree with us. The author of that critique doesn't seem even to understand our position and imagines it a new thing." (This relates to Sparks's assumption that the critique is fundamentally Anabaptist.) Sparks was also hurt by a critique of his direction in Christianity Today. One of the editors, Edward Plowman,

has written brief notices of developments in the Jesus movement for several years. Sparks now responds on the offense: "They don't even know what we're talking about. They don't know what the Church is. They have no concept of the Church." Sparks talks about "knowing fairly thoroughly the extremely Protestant traditions" (meaning sectarian Protestant traditions), and now wants to get back into the mainstream, "get out of our shell." He sums up: "We're after being a force for a return toward catholicity."

Given all this, one could only wonder what is happening to the sacraments within the Church of the New Covenant. Is infant baptism coming into practice? Is there a doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist? An active participant in Redeemer King Church says: "Baptism is still up in the air."⁵ But we definitely believe in the Real Presence. After the split we had a definite consecration of the bread and the wine in our worship services." Though there is no institution of private confession as such, members of the church are encouraged to confess privately to an elder or apostle.

Those who went with Sparks seem equally full of enthusiasm as those who stayed with the Coalition. There is excitement about what is seen as a bold new future for the Church of the New Covenant, the excitement associated with a basic turn in direction, a sense of rediscovery of something very old and precious. There is also the calm assurance that they have done the right thing. Their needs are being met, and they feel strong and secure in this community. Arnie, the Jew for Jesus, has been one of the midwives at the birth of the kind of

community he has been longing for since coming to Berkeley, indeed since his conversion in New York. It seems to be a community he has come home to. One of the women who has been an outspoken leader in CWLF, particularly on women's issues, surprised many who went with the Coalition when she "stayed with Jack." She has said: "It's borne such good fruit in my own life when I have submitted to Jack that I really have no fears." Apparently many continue to respond to a charismatic leadership which has bloomed (atrophied?) into careful structures of authority for similar reasons. How many are or will be drawn because of the catholicity or ancient character of such structures remains to be seen.

Trajectory: The Jesus Movement

The Jesus movement is not simply CWLF writ large. Nevertheless, some general comments about its trajectory are in order here. The question of the movement's future may already seem to be answered by the lack of media attention to it since 1973. Unfortunately, the brief history of any social movement seems inordinately tied to media interest and loss of interest. The student movement of the sixties knew well the meaning of "the whole world is watching" and its media events capitalized on this. But the reality and significance of a movement, certainly for many individuals involved, will go beyond what makes news. What is newsworthy is often even beside the point. While not a few Jesus leaders groomed themselves as media stars, many others preferred to perform their act without fanfare.

It is still true, however, that the actual trajectory of the Jesus movement could not but be disappointing in view of how high the public had seen the media raise the guns. Deprived for so long of old-time religious hooplah, the media gave a 21-gun salute when they finally thought they saw something happening. If such a salute eventually disappointed the public with something short of a national mobilization of God's army, it lent to Jesus groups themselves a tremendous air of excitement. The media seemed to make the Jesus movement a social fact, with the inherent ability of such a fact to generate collective effervescence. Small groups of Jesus People felt they were really onto something, into the midst of something. In the joy of their own conversions, every new report and especially every warm body blowing into Berkeley praising the Lord was a confirming experience. "Their sound went out to the whole land," as the Psalm said. Especially among the less mature there seemed almost a bandwagon rush to join classmates at the altar. Be the first one on your block to find Jesus. Not all of these "Jesus boppers" lost their first love, however. Some remained in their new faith and continue to practice it.

In other respects, the media's role was not a mixed blessing; it was no blessing at all. A Christian Century editorial lamented how fortunate these Jesus People would be if they had appeared pre-media. If they really had something, they could have hidden in a hollow for a generation or more to mature, to try out their responses, to practice their vision. As it was, their stagestruck, first-act rehearsals came before all the world to see. Public adulation and criticism were too

much for many to cope with. And discipleship was hard to cover with a picture in Look.

With the media came the camp followers who saw new gold at the top of Jacob's ladder. Adulation turned easily to commercial co-optation. The Jesus movement would have to work very hard to avoid looking like another theatrical pitch, another youthful craze complete with bumper stickers, T-shirts, and jingles.

When the media eventually moved on, it would look like the Jesus movement had evaporated. A new law was born in the sixties. If an event happens which the media do not see or report, it did not happen. A report in Time let everyone know the movement had not quite evaporated. An article entitled "The Jesus Evolution" reported that the Jesus movement "unlike aspects of the youth counter culture, has survived the fad phase and is settling down for the long haul."⁶ Many Jesus papers were still in existence and widely circulated; many Jesus communes were hanging on. Jesus alumni were in Europe, in school, in rural communes, in families, in churches, and in new ministries. Jesus People abroad were already talking about learning from the mistakes made in America. Given the role of the media and the impossible trajectory they set, and given the nature of the Jesus movement itself, what could its future possibly be?

The Future as Revival

Even for those who came through as changed people, those who got saved and stayed saved, revivals survive only as a peak experience. Such high-water marks are not to be underestimated.⁷ But time passes,

the Spirit moves on, situations change, and what we saw big in the late sixties and early seventies we may not now see at all. It is no longer shocking or exhilarating merely to say Jesus Christ into a microphone. The times have disconnected the loudspeakers. There also has already occurred the beginnings of reentry into the "system." Jesus People have become Christian, joined churches, begun families.

Those who survived the revival saved, evangelists and converts, know well the necessity to move ahead, consolidate, nurture. It is the constant theme of the Billy Graham crusades. Jesus leaders too have an evangelized generation on their consciences and are concerned it is not subsequently lost. The revival can't always exist as it was. Revivals, however, were exciting. Nurturing institutions generally are not. At least they don't make news. Of course, for some this historical problem does not exist. Jesus may be back before breakfast. We can go on this way.

But revivalism being what it is, the future as revival must lead to one of two alternatives, or to failure and dissipation. We look first at:

The Future in the Churches

The Church's own future has changed because of the impact of the Jesus movement revival. Does the Jesus movement itself have a future to be worked out in the churches? Most of the friendly books on the Jesus movement have been written by people somewhere in the churchly establishment—pastors, youth directors, editors of Christian magazines, teachers in Christian colleges. They typically conclude with

an exhortation or a warning: Come home to the Church. Enroth, Erickson, and Peters encourage Jesus People to "come together with church Christians."⁸ "The future of the revolution is in the company of the church."⁹ The alternatives for spontaneous social movements, they warn, are institutionalization or dissipation. They see no future in permanent alienation from the church. Institutionalization in the church, though full of problems, is still the only real choice. The church "is still the main bearer of the tradition of the historic Christian faith that links not only believing men in various parts of the world but believing men in various ages of history, forming the substance of the Body of Christ."¹⁰

It is unlikely that the churches will shut themselves off from the influx of those Jesus People eager to come in. An institution up against the wall is more likely to rejoice than ask questions. A few four-square fundamentalist churches have been able to see the Jesus movement as the antichrist; many liberal churches will never see any Jesus People, for many years at least. Those churches which do will find ways to live with occasional adolescent arrogance, the counter-revelations Jesus People sometimes have access to, etc. The Jesus People have also grown, and it is not uncommon to hear them discussing how best to be a good witness in the straight churches.

Lutheran Youth Alive may be the best example of a group which is simply a segment of the Jesus movement enchurched. While this pan-Lutheran movement makes some Lutheran pastors wince, the participants themselves are constantly indoctrinated on how to be a help, not a

hindrance, to their pastors, on effective humble loving witness in their home congregations, etc. They draw more young people than other Lutheran youth programs have seen in decades, and they do it across the lines of the three Lutheran bodies without even thinking about it. They are churchly, but vibrantly evangelical and turned on to Jesus. Conspicuously lacking are most of the criticisms of American society and the fertile potential of alienation from most of what America and American Christianity is. Lutheran Youth Alive Jesus People, however, probably never had it. They are more Jesus boppers and longtime fervent church Christians than scarred and alienated counterculture people suddenly burning with a new Christian life. Nevertheless, Lutheran youth ministries will not be the same for awhile because of this organization highly flavored by the Jesus movement. Perhaps such an organization saves part of a generation of Lutheran young people for the Church, just as the Jesus movement at large may have performed a similar service for some other Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians.

In many cases the churches will simply absorb Jesus People. Though the body will be stronger for this intravenous solution, the solution itself will lose visibility. These will be the strong church members of the future who will have cut their eyeteeth in the Jesus movement—before joining or rejoining the system. Many of them will never have been out of the system. The Jesus movement will have been a valuable conforming experience and replenisher along their ways, perhaps at a time of leanness or sagging churchmanship.

The visibility, whatever it may be, depends also on what kind of church the Jesus person joins. Some fundamentalist and evangelical churches might be unable to recognize his spiritual thrusts as different at all, though life-style features might be noticeable. In the non-evangelical churches, however, his most passionate concerns will appear refreshing, challenging, quaint, threatening, or immature.

At the media height of the Jesus movement it was common for those Jesus People who went to churches to appear rather conspicuously as Jesus People. That is much less common now. The peak of the Jesus movement is well over. Some diffusion of that spirituality has occurred. The Jesus person is less different and the churches more open.

Many Jesus groups, of course, began as churches—whether Assembly of God, Calvary chapels, etc. They were revivals that originated in a church and became the chief ministry of that church. The Jesus movement was an urbanizing and updating of an old form of Protestant deviant ministry. Such groups fall naturally to the resources of a long tradition of a particular kind of churchmanship. They are among the strongest, longest lasting, and most flourishing of any groups associated with the Jesus movement. Their future looks bright, though the Jesus movement label as such as already begun slowly to disappear because it is no longer prominent in the national consciousness. These groups will remain as a frontier-rural Pentecostalism revived for a new era and often in an urban setting.

The Future as Alternative Church

Isolated rural communes, networks of communes in fellowship, churchly urban ministries are also the Jesus movement's future. It is a future much more in doubt. Intentional and utopian communities have a rich religious and secular tradition in America. At various times they rose to encapsule the spirit of a time, they fired the imagination, they occasioned dreams and energy, and they wilted. The religious communes of the last ten years have a better record for longevity than the secular ones, but it is still not promising. The strongest Jesus communes are those with the most authoritarian leadership. Generally, this leadership has matured considerably, is not capricious, and has a serious moral commitment to its people. The structure is crucial for the commune's economic well-being. The future of such communes may depend on whether society will continue to cough up young people in desperate need of such leadership and whether such groups are sufficiently in the eye and imagination to attract such people. An alternative scenario would be a mellowing of such communes into something much closer to democratic communal arrangements. While their secular counterparts are often unambiguous in espousing anarchy as the only true form of communal government, their dissolution and disaster rates do not strongly recommend that course. A more democratic form might also deal with the women's issue as well, very prominent in CWLF, very unprominent in most rural Jesus communes.¹¹ That could either strengthen or blow apart the commune.

While several such Jesus communes are presently strong and increasingly economically self-sufficient, always a crucial issue, the lessons of history are against them. Few if any have the maturity and commitment and ethnic unity that have kept such groups as the Bruderhof and the Hutterites alive for generations.

Yet the future we have seen one part of CWLF move toward suggests that the future as alternative church need not take the form of a Chrisitan communalism. While the record of communalism is not and never has been promising, the term "network" has come into use since the sixties to describe a remarkably promising means by which individuals and groups around the country stay in touch with each other and with certain sets of attitudes, goals, life-styles, structures, and support mechanisms. In short, the network promises to deliver some of the legacy of the sixties to the seventies and beyond. Certainly the Church of the New Covenant, led by the apostolic band, is not merely a network, though it clearly started out as such. Whatever it now is, or is becoming, it will probably suggest a possible future as alternative church to other remnants of the Jesus movement still looking for a future.

Significance

Researchers who look at the sixties and inquire into their legacy and significance often ask: Was this a watershed period? Did basic shifts in consciousness occur? What was new in what happened? This study is part of a larger effort to study "new religious consciousness." The new religious consciousness project of which this study is

a part focuses on such questions as the following: What is it about new movements, new states of consciousness that has been attracting the young? What is the alternative the group seems to offer? What are the prospects for such an alternative? In addition, I was interested in Ernst Troeltsch's question about the "new completion" of the Gospel each age and group is called to make. Specifically, did CWLF or the Jesus movement represent a revitalized intentionalist position in social ethics and what would that mean if it did? In what follows I suggest that CWLF (and the Jesus movement more generally) originated with or participated in several "news" associated with the counter-culture of the sixties. I also argue that CWLF evolved from these starting points and moved on in its own directions, arriving at its own "news" and taking on a significance of its own.

The New Reformation

Paul Goodman thought he saw a new reformation among the young of the sixties. Central to the origins of this reformation is the "Lutheran concept" of alienation: "God has turned his face away, things have no meaning, I am estranged in the world."¹² The young are in a religious crisis. They no longer have faith in science. Their total alienation expresses itself in no longer being able to believe there is a "nature of things." Out of unrest, fantasy, and reckless action comes religious innovation. Revolutionary activism is not first a program but a way of living. Its purpose is to have a movement and form a community. All mere works are corrupted and a new faith is waiting to take their place. The young turned inventively to religion

in an effort to break through to meaning. Loud music is sacramental; hallucinogens are not for an opiate paradise but for tuning in to the cosmos. The close presence of other human beings, as at Woodstock, are central to the new sacraments. This religion, which Goodman thinks constitutes the strength of the generation of the sixties, this metaphysical vitality which keeps pouring out—comes from a large availability of psychic energy with little practical use.

The social environment is dehumanized. It discourages romantic love and lasting friendship. They are desperately bored because the world does not promise any fulfillment. Their knowledge gives no intellectual or poetic satisfaction. In this impasse, we can expect a ferment of new religion.¹³

Goodman sees a situation similar to that of 1510 when Luther went to Rome. There is everywhere protest, revaluation, attack on the Establishment. He thinks the bloated universities have produced the biggest collection of monks since the time of Henry VIII. Most of the mandarinism is hocus pocus. The various movements among the young then look like the characteristic protestant sects, intensely self-conscious. There are Free University Congregationalists, nature-loving Adamites trying to naturalize Sausalito, Heads who are like Pentecostals, university-trashing iconoclasts, student-powered Anabaptists, and so on. Goodman concludes:

The young are hotly metaphysical but alas, boringly so, because they don't know much, have no language to express their intuitions, and repeat every old fallacy. If the chaplains would stop looking in the conventional places where God is dead, and would explore the actualities where perhaps He is alive they might learn something and have something to teach.¹⁴

The New Spirituality and Signals of Transcendence

Out of the matrix Goodman was looking at came a new spirituality, a spirituality that also cradled the birth of the Jesus movement. The return of the supernatural, the transcending of the era in which anything spiritual was gauche, the demand for authentic experience, the rejection of Enlightenment-defined reality, the accusations of false consciousness against "modern" man were all elements in a new mood among many of the young. For those who would become Jesus People, this became what the ancients called a preparatio evangelii, a preparation for the Gospel. Not only was the brush cleared for religious, non-rational experience, but such experience came as a striking alternative, a fresh and deviant response to the false reality of the culture. It was "in" to be spiritual, to feel spiritual realities and talk about them. All those who were experiencing altered states of consciousness or exploring their deeper human potential were not calling it "spiritual," but spiritual came to describe all those dimensions of human psyche and human reality which had been neglected, objectified, or declared non-existent, unimportant, or unmeasurable. All the flowering assertions of the nonempirical came to be called spiritual.

While the debate about whether God talk was still possible was heating up cold theologians, warm new prayer lives and spiritual encounters were capturing public attention. The generation which had demythologized the New Testament to make it safe for "modern man" was bypassed by a generation of nonrationalists returning to the Biblical minefields without fear. Others looked to anthropologists or

historians of religion to discover people dealing with "real spirituality," or they made their own journeys to the East or bought the instant access of drugs, the new grace. Thus the Jesus movement appeared in the midst of a larger "new" whose time had come.

At its best, meaning when it was least faddish, the new spirituality began to signal new awakenings to the transcendent. In a speech on "The Contemporary Meaning of Kamakura Buddhism," Robert Bellah suggested that in the continuous reenactment that is essential for the survival of religion, "there is a tendency for the original meanings to become progressively distorted and the function of the re-enactment to become magical, social, or even political rather than to produce an apprehension of transcendence."¹⁵ Martin Marty finds the title of his book, The Fire We Can Light, in an old story from the rabbis:

When the Baal Shem had a difficult task before him, he would go to a certain place in the woods, light a fire and meditate in prayer—and what he had set out to perform was done. When a generation later the Maggid of Meseritz was faced with the same task he would go to the same place in the woods and say: We can no longer light the fire, but we can still speak the prayers—and what he wanted done became reality. Again a generation later Rabbi Moshe Leib of Sassov had to perform this task. And he too went into the woods and said: We can no longer light a fire, nor do we know the secret meditations belonging to the prayer, but we do know the place in the woods to which it all belongs—and that must be sufficient; and sufficient it was. But when another generation had passed and Rabbi Israel of Rishin was called upon to perform the task, he sat down on his golden chair in his castle and said: We cannot light the fire, we cannot speak the prayers, we do not know the place, but we can tell the story of how it was done. And . . . the story which he told had the same effect as the actions of the other three.¹⁶

Many are not as optimistic as the rabbis, nor have they seen the "same effects" in the last state as they did in the first. Bellah suggests it is the task of religious reformation to "regain the original

experience of the trans-historical." A genuine reformation will then involve "the creation of new forms growing out of a new apprehension of religious reality."

If we may dare to assert a very small beginning of such a recovery of the trans-historical within the Jesus movement, it will be seen to include the recovery of a personal relation to God in Jesus Christ, active belief in a system of meaning that is clearly deviant from the standards of society and of much of religion in America, the experience of a community which is somehow an extension and realization of that relationship with the transcendent (the Body of Christ is a former name for that community), a perception of an intentional pilgrimage through a counter-reality (the "world system") and the reassertion of the trans-historical and the eschatological. Unfortunately, the hot metaphysics surrounded by ignorance—in Goodman's phrase—present in much of the Jesus movement makes this sound like much too pretentious a claim for what might be going on in the Jesus movement.

Nevertheless, there is a lively and uncontrovertible spirit built up completely around a direct experience of Jesus Christ—in spite of, and usually in ignorance of, all the juggling of scholarly technologies and new and old quests for the historical Jesus. Jesus stands at the center of the movement as the prime reality in which Jesus people find themselves and through which they interpret existence and the prime motivator for their lives and futures. This transcendent experience is a kind of "X factor" which instantly binds all Jesus

People (and many fundamentalists and evangelicals) together. The question is whether new forms will be created which grow directly out of this experience. The record of American fundamentalism is here so dismal that one may despair or doubt the authenticity of the experience or a priori exclude any transcendent experience of Jesus Christ from religious (read ethical-political?) usefulness.

Yet there is a real consciousness that the religious experience must take on flesh, must develop into a social reality, namely, a Christian community. This, if more privatized than what liberals would call for, is the ethical dimension of the religious experience, though the experience is certainly primary. It is the works that cannot be separated from the faith. It is sociology following theology. How far the social demand would be extended, whether to a social ethic, remained to be seen. In CWLF at least there was lip service and sometimes absolute commitment to a social living out of that Christ-reality. Radical Christianity was once again trying to be born—in continuity with the Anabaptists, the Waldensians, the Donatists, and other experiencers of transcendent and eschatological reality of the past. What may have been happening in and around the Jesus movement was the rediscovery and reacquaintance with the eschatological amidst the historicism and acculturation of contemporary Protestantism. If such a rediscovery would not put one in touch with the "whole counsel of God," it remained a discovery overdue. H. Richard Niebuhr wrote that sectarian movements are often right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny.¹⁷ It may be that every new awakening must include

strong denials or withdrawals in the midst of its reaffirmations.

Not many can begin with wholeness.

Stopping the World at Adolescence

The Jesus movement is the first Christian revival to arise from youth as a new social stratum. The extension of adolescence required by the socioeconomic situation in the United States has produced a new religious market. The new reformation and the new spirituality may be components of a kind of civil religion for the young, a means by which they understand and interpret themselves. If revivals embody the spirit of their times, a successful youth revival did not need to (and perhaps could not) embody "adult" American religion.¹⁸ The question arises whether such youth religion may more usefully be seen as an attempt to stop the world in the midst of a protean counterculture reality structure or as an attempt to institutionalize and indefinitely prolong adolescence.

In an unpublished dissertation,¹⁹ Joseph Damrell has argued that many new religious sects enable their adherents to remain in the youth culture on a more or less permanent basis. The adoption of improvisation as a wide-ranging style and goal allows them to "eschew rational economics, instrumental roles, and participation in adult institutions of family, work, and community."²⁰ Such groups arise to meet the socially induced requirement that the young find meaning in the prolongation of adolescence. They institutionalize "the normative and ideological means by which young persons can turn the ostensibly transitional period of adolescence and post-adolescence into a long and possibly life-long career." There is great vulnerability to

structural collapse, but many are "successfully socialized into a mental mobility that enables them to remain oriented to the youth culture."²¹

In such a view, it would seem, the new religion exists, alongside "dealing," rockbands, etc., as one of the niches where individuals can find permanent shelter from the adult world. If society implies "Search for your identity until it is time for us to tell you what it is," the young may be announcing that they have found their identity and do not intend to report back. Perhaps some of the fifty million people between the ages of fifteen and thirty have opted to create their own world rather than wait for an inheritance which has grown increasingly less attractive anyway.

We have already suggested that "Forever Family" has certain connotations of never having to grow up and move away from home. For some in the Jesus movement this was regressive, a longing for simplicity, fusion, the secure home they never knew. Once they find such a place, they want to "stop the world."²² That already suggests something different from a mere prolongation of adolescence. It is more the attempt to prolong a peak experience or the circumstances which cradled it. But those circumstances, and the life-style associated with them, may reflect the goals, mind set and world view associated particularly with the counterculture. It is a life-style which cultivates spontaneity and resists rationalization in Weber's sense. A distinctive theology may evolve to justify this position as the one God calls his people to. There is the great boon of theological legitimation for

those who cannot or will not become "adult." A conspicuous pride in being countercultural or "not middle class" often characterized the Jesus movement. At least until 1973, it seemed to characterize CWLF. The directions CWLF has taken since that time, however, would seem to belie this interpretation, though we shall return below to look at the meaning of those directions.

There is the question, then, whether this life-style or mind set should be called adolescent. Is being countercultural or refusing to adapt to the dominant world view and value system necessarily "adolescent"? Such a view may too easily allow any ongoing radicalism, any unwillingness to rejoin the Establishment, any commitment to ongoing conflict with society, any refusal to return to equilibrium to be called adolescent. Such labeling may be self-serving to liberal academics and to those in the churchly establishment. Even a prophetic stance may become "a stage through which one goes." Though such a stance is important for the dialectical movement of society into the future, people are expected to move beyond such positions. A conflict model of society may be an alternative to this view.

Surely, however, there is considerable illumination thrown by this theory. And its usefulness is most appropriate for those groups which are clearly "improvisational" in character. It is possible to see CWLF, for example, as simply moving beyond, since 1973, such a characterization—in the direction of institutionalization and, in Weber's sense, rationalization.

Yet stopping the world at the moment of truth, which does seem definitely to characterize CWLF and much of the Jesus movement, still seems to be a practice which should be interpreted as something more than the prolongation of adolescence or the cultivation of spontaneity as a life-style. Any time a given community ties its existence and rationale to a turn inward, away from an ungodly culture, any time a community becomes "intentionalist," it practices what may be called stopping the world. Why do the Amish wear black clothing rather than togas? Their appearance suggests the era in which they first stopped the world. Will some Jesus People be wearing bib overalls and beards twenty years from now as part of their authenticity?

The whole notion of stopping the world is popular in the counterculture. But it seems to have its correspondent in the attempt of many fundamentalists to time-machine themselves back to Bible days and then stop the world at that point. The practice suggests an "unwillingness to go along"—with Vietnam, with the computerizing of students, with the new morality, with Darwin. Those who saw themselves as a new prophetic Christian minority were refusing to go along with what they saw as the nearly total secularization of American culture and the churches. They were in company with religious dissenters and nonconformists of previous eras.

The primary question to be asked those who stop the world would seem to be "Was it a good time to stop the world?" If the sixties, in fact, were full of promise for shifts in consciousness, if they were a time of breakthrough and charismatic mutations and blossoming

alternatives, one might argue it was a good time to stop. Though the activism of the sixties is no longer evident, what they were may continue to ferment in the lives of many people, people who only seem to have jumped back on the merry-go-round. One can always, as on a TV game show, wait for something better to come along, but those who stopped to embrace the new reformation and the new spirituality and its signals of transcendence may have chosen a promising time to depart from the direction the world was moving.

The New Community: The Church of
the New Covenant

The increasing fragmentation of American life, the advanced state of urban decay, "the pursuit of loneliness," the widespread failure of such institutions as family and school left thousands of young people lonely, searching, desperate. Many looked for what Roszak has called visionary sociology or for utopian communities or for communication and intimacy with each other. The urban and rural communes which began to arise were attempts to work out visions of something better.

One of CWLF's most alluring attractions was what looked like a community of love and caring, instant brothers and sisters, ready acceptance into the Forever Family. It was a family unlike what many had known at home or at school or in the churches. For some it was a last-chance therapeutic community in which their disintegrating psyches found healing. For some it was a chance for the intimacy and support they had never found in the churches. For some it was a chance to try out dreams

of radical Christianity. It is interesting that this new communalism occurred at the very time when many of those in the longest continuous religious communalism in the West, the Roman Catholic religious orders, were rushing out to the secular city.

In fact, the Jesus movement reestablished community as a "mark of the Church." The small group movement and the encounter culture had already begun moving some churches in that direction. Liberal Protestants, in particular, were focusing on intimacy, small groups, and community, but it was not specifically a worshipping Christian community they were talking about. CWLF, as other Jesus movements, seemed to live out a Christian community concretely and, eventually, theologically. Its continued presence outside the churches was testimony that many of its participants could not have survived in the nonempirical community that was a reality for many churches. Many such churches, caught up in the individualism of American culture and long since departed from covenantal and corporate notions about the living of the Christian faith, lacked even a theological affirmation that such a lived community is the direction that Christian faith and life should be taking. A kind of Christian communitarianism was one of the strongest expressions of the Jesus movement's new life.

In Chapter II we saw Arnie looking for a community that would fulfill his needs, a community that would express his Hebrew-Christian identity. Jack Sparks has noted that all seven of the apostolic band came out of Campus Crusade for Christ. "Even in those days we longed for a church." Many of those interviewed for Chapter II were looking

for a community where they could find life, religious experience, intimacy, sharing, support—an enfleshed Gospel, theology with a body, religious yearnings and aspirations worked out sociologically. It is the one thing Jesus People look for immediately when they move from one place to another. The house churches that spring to life in Berkeley, the attempts to build Christian networks in neighborhoods reflect this same longing and love for community. Whatever else Sparks's Church of the New Covenant is, whatever else the split in CWLF's trajectory means, it is at least clear witness to the passion for a church, for a solid community to which one can belong and about which one can feel secure and confident. Even the other half of the split, the Berkeley Christian Coalition, found it obvious and appropriate immediately to establish a house church. Possibly the Coalition will move increasingly toward what radicals of the sixties liked to call a collective.

What is the place of community in the Church of the New Covenant? The first two goals of this church mention "a communion whose people are committed to each other" and building churches "culturally and locally oriented, in which the people share community and are cared for under the Lordship of Christ by a serving, indigenous leadership." Of the twelve characteristics of this church, the second is true community and the fifth is care: looking after the "needs of their people in all areas of their lives, including financial, emotional, intellectual, spiritual, and vocational." One of the duties of apostles is to provide examples in simplicity of life-style and in practice of Christian community.

So overwhelming is the concern for solid and orderly community that those who came together as the apostolic band were willing to take some ambiguous steps to insure it. As fundamentalists have attempted to guarantee the security of the faith by taking refuge in the New Testament and first-century Christianity, these communal order fundamentalists have taken refuge in what is seen as the golden age of orderly community—the second to the fourth centuries. The faith having been settled, theological legitimations are no longer sprinkled with the words of Paul or John (or Jesus), but with the words of Ignatius and Cyprian, the great proponents of episcopal order in the early church. The security and orderliness of the community is being guaranteed by concepts strange to evangelical ears: apostle, catholic, church order and authority flowing from God to special ministers.

If this is all very old—as old as the "early catholicism" of the pastoral epistles, as old as Ignatius and Cyprian, as old as the doctrine of apostolic succession, as old as the understanding of the Church as Mother and guarantor of salvation and correct exegesis, as old as Cardinal Newman's conversion to Catholicism—it is also very new to evangelical Protestants, new to American religious life, and, obviously, new to those in CWLF who refused to "go with Jack."

It is, however, the revitalization of community, the insistence on true community as a mark of the Church, which is the real "new" of CWLF and of the Jesus movement. The assumption and demand that brothers and sisters be supportive throughout the week, the great joy and expectation in working out religious experience in a body is the new.

(Of course, this is not new to an introversionist community such as the Amish or some Mennonites.) The Church of the New Covenant has taken this new and attempted to institutionalize and guarantee it in a way no one would have expected.

The New Evangelicalism: The Berkeley
Christian Coalition

In his book The Young Evangelicals,²³ Richard Quebedeaux lists the ministries of CWLF as part of "the story of the emergence of a new generation of evangelicals."²⁴ Particularly the Coalition members see themselves uniting around a small number of Christian ministries which, in some ways, are on the cutting edge of what may be called the new evangelicalism. The givens of the new are the same as of the old:

- 1) the complete reliability and final authority of Scripture in matters of faith and practice;
- 2) the necessity of a personal faith in Jesus Christ as Savior from sin and consequent commitment to Him as Lord; and
- 3) the urgency of seeking actively the conversion of sinners to Christ.²⁵

Though variously interpreted and emphasized, the basic truth of each of these is held. The difference is in the effort to break new ground, to develop new styles and approaches, to be more conscious about authentic life-style, to seek dialogue with other Christians and, for example, with Marxists, and, above all, to press for a Christian faith and action with broad cultural and social dimensions. While community is very important to the members of the Berkeley Christian Coalition (they did immediately come to call themselves a church after the split), the focus seems somewhat more on the task or the mission. The community, almost a collective, comes into being out of their fellowship with one

another as they work out their ministries. Many of the leaders in the Coalition are the kind of people who, in Chapter II, were characterized as coming to Berkeley to be authentic, to work out a new vision, to push their evangelicalism in new directions.

Quebedeaux wants to believe that this new evangelicalism²⁶ represents a "third way" beyond anti-intellectual and separatist fundamentalism and a mainstream ecumenical liberalism which lacks sufficient Biblical grounding. We have already seen that "conservative churches are growing" and that liberal Protestantism appears in steady decline. Depending on how one counts,²⁷ it may be argued that evangelicalism (together with fundamentalism) now makes up half of American Protestantism. In view of the past, that in itself may be little cause for jubilation. What is new is its freshness, its deeply-rooted sense of identity and meaning, its centeredness, its insistence on transcending and calling into judgment any unthinking Americanism, its willingness to go public and take on the kinds of responsibility liberal Protestantism (and Roman Catholicism) often seemed to shoulder alone in society.²⁸ It almost seems that the great energy for social and cultural dimensions to the Gospel has been set free by a theology whose identity is not in doubt and whose very raison d'être is not a problem, which hardly can be said about liberal Protestantism. In short, the new evangelicals look lively and vigorous. For a variety of reasons mainstream Protestantism is looking again at this phenomenon; in its youthful vigor the new evangelicalism is also ready to talk. Quebedeaux even insists that the mainstream seminaries and other institutions should immediately begin

a program of affirmative action hiring of the evangelicals who have for so long been excluded.²⁹

It is too early to say what may be expected of this new evangelicalism. Its major accomplishment so far is its very coming into being. Its work waits to be done, though there are promising starts. That it is growing and does not look tired, that it is doing things evangelicals were not expected to do are enough to make many expectant of good things. Along with neo-Pentecostalism and (Roman Catholic) charismatic renewal it seems the freshest flower in the Christian landscape. The two most pressing questions waiting to be answered are: (1) Will it be able to move beyond the narrowness that so often characterizes evangelicalism towards larger and more encompassing Christian symbols? (2) As its social vision widens more and more, will its theological base remain "trouble-free" and nonproblematic? However these questions will be answered, it seems that the wedding of a fresh, invigorating, and deeply centered theological conservatism with an ever-expanding and sensitive social radicalism is a significant example of new religious consciousness. At least one of its ingredients is the Berkeley Christian Coalition—and the social-cultural-theological circumstances from which it arose.

New Completion?

We began this study inquiring, perhaps wistfully, whether out of the Jesus movement might come what Ernst Troeltsch would have called "new completion." Would the meaning of the Gospel, if once again recovered and revitalized, be able to take on new shape in modern

society? Would there be a new embodiment of theology in the context of society that would promise change and give new meaning both to religion and society?

We have argued that the new evangelicalism is new religious consciousness. One of the questions asked in the Introduction to this study was "Might a new religious consciousness throw sparks upon combustible material, even if its own fire did not continue to burn?" It is possible to speak, even at the most general level, of a kind of greening of the churches as a result of the Jesus movement. There is a recovery of Bible study, an emphasis on community and intra-parish relationships, a willingness to talk about the spiritual without apology, renewed attention to personal religion and personal religious experiences, a cross-denominationalism seen as Spirit-led, new perspectives on youth ministries, and a renewed evangelical nerve. More specifically, the new combination of conservative theology and radical social policy may open up the possibility of new approaches to Marxism and a coaxing of fundamentalists and evangelicals away from their alliances with conservative politics. It may also urge on mainstream Protestantism new approaches to Marxism and socialism and impel it, as it considers its mistakes and reexamines its strengths, commitments, and experience, to its own new completions. At least we may argue that the new evangelicalism has caught the attention of some of mainstream Protestantism. And the new evangelicals may not be above learning from that kind of Protestantism which has long taken responsibility for the social realm. (In all this, of course, we are talking

about tiny but influential minorities.) Similar things may occur in Roman Catholicism as it tries to hold together its remarkable Christian radicalism in such areas as Latin America and the renewal of the Church arising from the charismatic movement.

But what may we expect of the new evangelicalism itself? And, to scale the question very small indeed, what may we expect of the Berkeley Christian Coalition?³⁰ To begin with, we need to be unromantic about what has occurred so far. Has anything changed at all? Are war, business, politics, establishment structures hurting in any way because of the new evangelicalism? Who are the enemies of these people?³¹ How far are we from strong social presence, protest, conscience, prophetism, change? Paul Goodman often talked about the American despair that any new thing could or would change anything. Certainly we already saw in CWLF the instinctive distrust of American institutions, a withdrawal of allegiance from the Establishment, an outside-the-walls posture, a kind of prophetic leftism. And we have already wondered if evangelicalism could more widely be led to a reexamination of its uncritical Americanism. There is always the possibility of a revitalization of the nonconforming traditions.

We have been honest about what has not happened. Yet it is not inappropriate to construct a scenario of possibility. What needs to happen? How would it work? We look first at the classical Weberian scenario for social change under religious auspices and then describe an agenda which, in very small ways, may be appearing among some evangelicals.

Max Weber has analyzed the possibilities of breakthrough and social change under religious auspices.³² The alienated are most available to be stirred by prophetic movements. We have seen in the first chapter that the alienation of the sixties was a primary factor in the rise of the political and cultural revolutions among youth and that this same alienation was crucial to the origins of the Jesus movement. Central to the possibility of change, however, is the intellectual function. Intellect was crucial to rationalization and rationalization was the single most dynamic factor in the process of change. In Weber's sense, rationalization has to do with the definition of the situation and acting upon that definition. It involves intellectual clarification, specification and systematization of ideas. Second, it involves the normative control which these ideas exercise on human actions. Finally, rationalization involves motivated commitment. Eventually a pattern or program for life as a whole is systematized.

To be sure, this very process was present for many of the young in the early sixties who became cultural and political radicals. For many of them some form of Marxism became the fixed idea by which all reality came to be interpreted. From that clarification of the situation, more and more reality was encompassed until a coherent, meaningful, and highly energizing world view had come into being. Now, a not dissimilar process happened with some of the Jesus People. From one peak insight or experience, from one great experience of deliverance, from one utterly new grasp of the world, some of these Jesus People moved out to hook a whole spectrum of situations and ideas, a

whole world view into their new view of the situation. It was as the Apostle Paul had said, they suddenly glimpsed that they in Christ were a new creation. The question, however, was how many of these Jesus People could work through this experience and move toward the rationalization of all reality—as St. Paul or Augustine, for example, had done. Obviously, when one asks the question that way, the answer is probably no one. But then the sixties may not either have produced a new Karl Marx. The question is whether some of that rationalizing took place, whether some new theologies or world views were constructed, whether a few Jesus People were able to work through many of the implications of what had happened to them and what they had come to see. If that happened in any important way, then we may speak of the possibility of dramatic change eventually because a whole new systematization of what reality was and what religion's grasp of the world was would have happened. If it had happened, then the question of immediate attention to reforming or bringing down current social structures would recede in importance. King's images fall before their thrones do, Peter Berger has said.

We now must return to the crucial link in the process that Weber noted—the intellect. It is not clear that the rationalizing process was often set in motion among Jesus People because that movement seemed to attract too few of those with intellectual vision, clear articulation, and moral passion. It is true that many had been set on their paths by their experience in the counterculture. But for much of the counterculture others had done the thinking—Roszak

suggests as much when he considers the intellectual mentors of the counterculture. Yet there was a certain gut level extension of a few clear insights or, more likely, feelings to a whole American reality. This is the boost that many people who came into CWLF already had. It is a vital boost which already had set them in motion asking the right questions. It was not long before they found the Bible answering those questions in ways which led them to a theological base for their questioning of the whole American reality and societal system as they had experienced it. They began calling themselves radical Christians. David began writing a regular monthly column in Right On called "The Radical Christian." Courses in Crucible with that title were taught and there was a ransacking of the historical traditions of the radical church—the Waldensians, the Donatists, the Albigensians, the Anabaptists. Many or most, however, even in CWLF, would live out such a view only by their instincts. There was no rationalization which gradually tried to take in all reality and judge and master and act on it from that one vital insight extended throughout. Those who rationalized by instinct rather than intellect would probably be those who lived quietly outside the sacred canopy, never paying allegiance to the system. They might be quiet intentionalists, but were unlikely ever to focus what they had come to see to such a blinding spot that it would come to ignite people and bring about change.

That is the Weberian scenario. Some of the elements are there among remnants of the Jesus movement. What would it take for ignition? Weber talks about defining the situation (precisely the role of the

classical Old Testament prophets) and acting on it. Ignition awaits theory (theological definition of the situation), praxis, and revolutionary program.

The new evangelicalism as evidenced in such a group as the Berkeley Christian Coalition has yet to fasten on those powerful symbols³³ of Christ which will give it sufficient depth and breadth of vision. Neither the Pauline affirmations of his cosmic reconciling activity, nor the Johannine incarnationism which sees the Logos coming to its own, nor the prophetic Messianic program of an Isaiah are sufficiently grasped. Always there will be the temptation to premature closure. Always there waits the easy relapse into the safety of typical evangelicalism, the security of small vision, the purity bought with small responsibility for the world. Always there lurks the cheap grace³⁴ of mellowing out with the Truth, just as Troeltsch so disturbingly characterized Lutheranism as mellowing out in the quiet peace of forgiveness.

The intellectual power, as Weber sees it, and the theological grasp are not clearly present. Will others from the free church tradition, among whom the kind of intellectual resources needed may be present, rise to reexamine their own roots and to carry through the process of rationalization in their own time which the genius of their traditions has made possible?

Evangelical praxis seems more promising. There seems great power in the experience of community, and there is a resolve that there must be community. The coalitions, collectives, and communes which have



arisen testify to this. There is also a self-consciousness about simplicity in life-style and a continual inspection to see if the community's life together and apart reflects its commitments or is thoughtlessly wedded to an alien ideology (e.g., the American bourgeoisie). It is possible that the experience of love in the family will lead it to regressive closure and allow it to give up its task in the world. It is to be hoped that the collective effervescence of this community will instead continually renew its commitment to the social task, enrich its vision, and push it toward ever new working out of its theory.

Finally, what would it take for communal praxis to move toward revolutionary programs? Bryan Wilson argues that reformist sectarianism arises only in advanced societies when a group, out of a process of intensive socialization, acquires a strong and collective conscience toward the wider world.³⁵ The reformist approach arises from a sect that has undergone development. Is the Berkeley Christian Coalition a conversionist group in the process of institutionalization in the direction of a reformist collective? Wilson believes the Quakers are the single best example of a twentieth-century reformist sect. The task they have taken upon themselves is to be society's self-appointed conscience. If the Coalition should catch a vision of itself as a prophetic band (not the apostolic band of the Church of the New Covenant), as a community "standing still in the light" so that others might see its vision embodied, and as free church nonconformity always directed at the social order and committed to engaging it, we might see a reformist group



with the beginning of a revolutionary program involving new religious consciousness and social change.

If that, in turn, should catalyze or participate in a chain of ignitions which would include the experience, social passion, and symbolic depth of the wider Protestant and Roman Catholic groups, then we might see a small group, elite to be sure, of change makers attempting to make and carry out a revolutionary social program under Christian auspices. Such a momentum would combine the freshness and naivete of a new evangelicalism, with its communal and personal experience of a living God who still acts, with the living experience the larger Christian tradition is recovering of how large a situation this God defines, how wide is the history he impinges upon.

May we then be facing a new completion, a horizon promising social change? So much is required. So many snares lie everywhere at hand. Weberian theologian-intellectuals with profound grasp of the situation, superb articulation, personal commitment, and the will to carry the divine vision to new social completions seem in short supply. Alas, this seems but a wistful dream.



Notes to Chapter VII

¹Michael McFadden, The Jesus Revolution (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 8.

²I have widened the focus of this chapter to include the wider Jesus movement for two reasons. Many readers will be more interested in the Jesus movement as a national phenomenon than in CWLF in particular when it comes to assessing its impact and significance. Also, to the extent that the Jesus movement is CWLF writ large (which is true more in terms of press reports and felt impact than of actual fact), it is easier to address the larger issues in that context. The effect, if it is significant, will have to be felt at that level. To be sure, the interpretation at this point becomes more impressionistic.

³The entire groundwork for this bold approach is laid in an essay by one of the members of the apostolic band, Gordon Walker. In a pamphlet entitled "Twentieth Century Apostleship," he argues that apostleship is not unique to the first century and replies to the objections to subsequent use of that term to describe an office in the Church. The apostolic function is to lay foundations, supervise the building, and establish spiritual authority, functions required by the Church in every age. The requirements for apostleship are calling, vision, anointing, and testing. Finally, this new apostle argues that today calls for restoration, new foundations and structures which will become "models of what God can do throughout His Church." "Unapologetically" these new apostles are about that very task. This pamphlet is one of two already produced by Conciliar Press (note the title), the publishing arm of this new apostolic band. The other is "Coming in from the Cold," by Dick Ballew, another of the new apostles. It argues that the communities emerging under the guidance of these latter-day apostles are the surest answer to several severe problems of the twentieth century (and presumably of the great evangelizations of the sixties and seventies): identity crisis, loss of authority, and guilt. A new kind of Christian community, not new doctrines, is the answer. Among other things Ballew argues that "good authority" solves key problems. He also writes: "We are not a sect, we don't hold any wild teachings. We believe in the Apostles' Creed." A sociological observer can only respond in the words of the commercial, "You've come a long way, baby."

⁴An appendix contains a kind of charter for this emerging network, "The New Covenant Apostolic Order."

⁵In his paper on "The Christian Ecclesia," delivered in December 1973 at the time of the inauguration of the "church" within CWLF, Sparks could still say about baptism: "This public dunking was embarrassing



and bound to turn off rich and important people who would not wish to be humiliated in public. Still, it was a step of identification which could not be forgotten."

⁶Time, September 24, 1973, p. 80.

⁷In his book Jesus People Come Alive (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House, 1971), pp. 69-80, Walker Knight discusses the immediate and long-term effects of a revival at Ashbury College in Kentucky.

⁸Ronald Enroth, Edward Erickson, C. Breckinridge Peters, The Jesus People (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 244.

⁹Ibid., p. 157.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 246.

¹¹Cf. the report by Mary White Harder, James T. Richardson, and Robert B. Simmonds, "Jesus People." Psychology Today, December, 1972.

¹²Paul Goodman, "The New Reformation," The New York Times Magazine, September 14, 1969.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Robert Bellah, "The Contemporary Meaning of Kamakura Buddhism," Journal of the American Academy of Religion 42 (March, 1974, p. 4.

¹⁶Martin Marty, The Fire We Can Light (Garden City: Doubleday, 1973).

¹⁷H. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 238.

¹⁸In That New-Time Religion (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), Erling Jorstad argues that this religion pledges no allegiance to American institutions nor to Americanism itself.

¹⁹Joseph David Damrell, "Improvisational Youth Groups and the Search for Identity: A Study of an Urban Religious Sect in the Youth Culture" (unpublished dissertation, University of California at Davis, 1972).



²⁰Ibid., p. 2.

²¹Ibid., p. 3.

²²The phrase has become particularly popular through the writings of Carlos Castaneda.

²³Richard Quebedeaux, The Young Evangelicals (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

²⁴This is the subtitle on the cover of the book.

²⁵Quebedeaux, p. 4.

²⁶Another book on this subject is Donald Bloesch, The Evangelical Renaissance (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973). For the attempts to get free of social noninvolvement or unthinking Americanism, see David Moberg, The Great Reversal: Evangelism versus Social Concerns (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972), and Richard Pierard, The Unequal Yoke: Evangelical Christianity and Political Conservatism (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970). The most conspicuous voice of social involvement and clearly leftist politics among the young evangelicals is the newspaper The Post-American, published by The People's Christian Coalition.

²⁷Quebedeaux, p. 47.

²⁸Cf. "A Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern," adopted November 25, 1973 at Chicago. This document is reprinted with a commentary by one of the participants and signers in Radical Religion, Summer and Fall, 1974.

²⁹Quebedeaux, p. 146.

³⁰The Coalition, in its recent mailings, describes itself thus: "Berkeley Christian Coalition is a community of Christians seeking to use their creative gifts for the glory of God, and the edification of Christians everywhere, to reflect the character of God to the people of Berkeley, and to learn something of what it means to live together in a love/trust relationship with Jesus Christ the Lord." Interesting, if not necessarily promising. Perhaps it should be noted that this statement is printed on an envelope requesting financial support.

³¹I want to separate myself here from the position Martin Marty takes in The Fire We Can Light. He asks these very questions and then

rushes to dismiss nearly everything about the sixties. There is an almost gleeful assurance that nothing has come or will come from that decade's youth movement and a turn to the question of what kinds of fires we (liberals?) can light.

³²Cf. Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964). The introduction by Talcott Parsons is particularly helpful.

³³We have already discussed in Chapter VI the significance of choosing symbols with evocative power to move a group forward, even beyond where they would wish, and symbols which call to quiet dead ends.

³⁴The term is from Dietrich Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1963). Quebedeaux, pp. 61-68, calls Bonhoeffer and C. S. Lewis the two most important mentors of the young evangelicals.

³⁵Bryan Wilson, Religious Sects (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 177.



APPENDIX

NEW COVENANT APOSTOLIC ORDER

Being convinced it is the will of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit and because we are living in a time of great need for a new expression of the church, in continuity with biblical, apostolic and catholic tradition, we the undersigned are establishing the NEW COVENANT APOSTOLIC ORDER.

We are NEW COVENANT because we believe the new covenant promise is for the church today. God through the Holy Spirit does indeed write His law upon the hearts of His people, those who live under the government and reign of the Lord Jesus Christ.

We are APOSTOLIC because the service and authority of apostleship is necessary today to lead the church to live under Christ's reign. Apostleship is a gift to the church required throughout its history. God has called us to this ministry.

We are an ORDER because we as one among other such groups of people are called to serve the Lord in His church. Such orders have strong historic precedence. We are committed to the goals, characteristics, organization and doctrinal statements herein set forth.

GOALS

1. To build, as workers under God, the CHURCH OF THE NEW COVENANT, a communion of churches whose people experience the Lordship of Christ, are committed to each other in this life, and look forward to the hope, the ultimate establishment of the Kingdom of God.
2. To build churches, culturally and locally oriented, in which the people share community and are cared for under the Lordship of Christ by a serving, indigenous leadership.
3. To strive for catholicity in our relationships with other existing churches and communions of churches.

CHARACTERISTICS

Churches raised up by this apostolic order and joining the Church of the New Covenant are called especially to the following concerns:

1. Grace: Our God deals with us according to His gracious loving character. We are grateful recipients of this grace and are called to reflect it in this world.

2. True Community: These congregations of people are to be committed to God and to each other, being truly involved in all aspects of each other's lives.

3. Vision: We are committed to a vision of the raising up of churches reflecting the Kingdom of God and expressing the church catholic. These churches are called to be the salt of the earth and to be light shining in the darkness of a fallen world. Each church is called within its own local and cultural setting to be a living demonstration of the blessing and order of God's reign in contrast to the confusion and anarchy of Satan in a rebel world.

4. An Authoritative, Serving Leadership: The government of each church is carried out by an eldership (ideally plural) devoted to serving the congregation. These elders have authority under God, and the people are committed to their serving leadership.

5. Care: These congregations are called to look after the needs of their people in all areas of their lives, including financial, emotional, intellectual, spiritual, and vocational.

6. Seeing and Hearing from God: One consequence of the new covenant is the baptism in the Holy Spirit enabling God's people to see and hear from Him. As Christians walk in obedience to the Spirit, they should expect God to communicate with them. The church is responsible to determine when God has in fact spoken and to obey accordingly.

7. Good Works: Faith without works is dead. Each congregation is committed to putting love into action individually and collectively. This includes preaching the Gospel to the poor and care for the sick, the poverty-stricken, and people afflicted with other troubles.

8. Godliness: Human beings are responsible for their conduct. The words and works of the citizens of God's Kingdom are to be in obedience to their King. We are committed to living lives of love, moral purity, truth, kindness, justice, goodness and those other characteristics to which God calls His people.

9. Orthodox Theology: We teach and hold to those doctrines which have their base in Scripture, are in keeping with the formulations of the early councils of the church catholic, and have been commonly held by all communions of orthodox believers. We are not interested in new or novel doctrines.

10. Worship: The heart of worship is praise and thanksgiving. These churches joyfully and regularly gather at the throne of God to worship the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Each member is encouraged to participate.

11. The Hope: We look forward to the Second Advent of Christ, the King, and participation forever in the Kingdom which He will one day fully establish.

12. Catholicity: The church is divided. That is not the ideal of God. We long for the church to return to a state of unity which will show the world that He is Lord.

ORGANIZATION

ELDERS

Ideally, each of the churches is governed by plural eldership. These elders are ordained by the apostolic workers with the agreement of the people of the church.

Initial identification of a potential elder comes from the Holy Spirit through persons in the church and/or through the apostolic workers. In any case there must be apostolic recognition of the elders. Elders are responsible for the care and government of the church. They are responsible to see that the church is taught correct doctrine in all spheres of life.

DEACONS

Deacons are chosen to serve the church by the agreement of the elders and the people. Deacons are responsible for the care of the physical need of the church and its people. They work under the leadership of the elders.

PRESBYTERY

Within local areas the churches are served and united by a presbytery of all of the elders of those churches. This presbytery concerns itself with:

1. The unity of its churches.
2. The guardianship of apostolic doctrine.
3. The supply of gifts and ministry to its churches which have need of assistance.
4. The local care of young men and women preparing for the work of ministry.

REGIONAL APOSTOLIC COUNCIL

All of the presbyteries in a larger defined area are served and ministered to by a Regional Apostolic Council. This council, composed of members of the New Covenant Apostolic Order, will give itself to:

1. Raising up churches of the nature already defined.
2. Establishing these churches under the Lordship of Christ and seeing to it that they are grounded in the application of sound doctrine to the lives of the people.
3. Discovering, ordaining, overseeing, and training elders and workers.
4. Providing examples in simplicity of lifestyle, in practice of Christian community, in submission to the leadership established by God, and in commitment to the church locally and universally.
5. Setting up education and training for the preparation of the people for service and ministry.

GENERAL APOSTOLIC COUNCIL

The New Covenant Apostolic Order is served and led by a General Apostolic Council presently made up of Dick Ballew, Ken Berven, Jon Braun, Peter Gillquist, Ray Nethery, Jack Sparks and Gordon Walker. All members of this council share the aforementioned goals. They will give themselves primarily to the raising up of churches, to prayer and ministry of the Word, to apostolic doctrine, to the oversight of regional apostolic councils, and to the publishing of literature which will build up the church.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Overall authority in the church and in the apostolic order is vested in the General Assembly of the Church of the New Covenant. This General Assembly is presently composed of all the elders of all the churches and the members of the New Covenant Apostolic Order. As the churches multiply, and the numbers become unwieldy, the presbyteries will choose representative elders to serve on the General Assembly. The General Assembly will meet annually and as necessity requires.

PERTINENT DOCTRINE

1. We embrace as foundational to proper theological definition and true belief in this century (as in previous Christian centuries) three creeds which are catholic in their acceptance and recognition:

The Apostles Creed: I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord

who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified dead and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the dead, and life everlasting.

The Nicene Creed: We believe in one God the Father all-sovereign, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, True God of True God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, through whom all things were made, things in heaven and things on the earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into the heavens, is coming to judge living and dead. And in the Holy Spirit. And those that say, 'There was when he was not,' and 'Before he was begotten he was not,' and that, 'He came into being from what-is-not,' or those that allege, that the Son of God is 'Of another substance or essence' or 'created', or 'changeable,' or 'alterable,' these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

The Chalcedonian Creed: Therefore, following the holy Fathers, we all with one accord teach men to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, at once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood, truly God and truly man, consisting also of a reasonable soul and body; of one substance with the Father as regards his Godhead, and at the same time of one substance with us as regards his manhood; like us in all respects, apart from sin; as regards his Godhead, begotten of the Father before the ages but yet as regards his manhood begotten, for us men and for our salvation, of Mary the virgin, the God-bearer; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures being in no way annulled by the union, but rather the characteristics of each nature being preserved and coming together to form one person and substance, not as parted or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God the Word, Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets from earliest times spoke of him, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself taught us, and the creed of the Fathers has handed down to us.

2. Because of the loss of truth in the church in our time, we feel there are certain matters which require attention from a doctrinal standpoint. The creation, the personalness of God, the Word of God and eschatology are a few. At this writing we have not completed a definitive statement on these and other pertinent matters. We do include a brief statement of our view of the Scripture because of its pressing importance to those reading this document.

The Scripture is the only authoritative, God-breathed, infallible record given by God to humanity; it is revelation and it is unique. Scripture as interpreted by the agreement of the church universal is the only authoritative source of doctrine.

We the undersigned commend this statement of direction and organization to the churches which we serve. We are fully aware that this document is preliminary work. We are eagerly open to anything God may say through anyone in any of our churches. We request that this document be considered and that any suggestions come via the elders to a meeting for all of our elders from all of our churches at Grace Haven, June 28 - July 1, 1976.

Signed:

Dick Ballew

Ken Berven

Jon Braun

Peter Gillquist

Ray Nethery

Jack Sparks

Gordon Walker

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